A HISTORY OF PAISLEY





W. H. PETRIE, D.D.

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600–1908

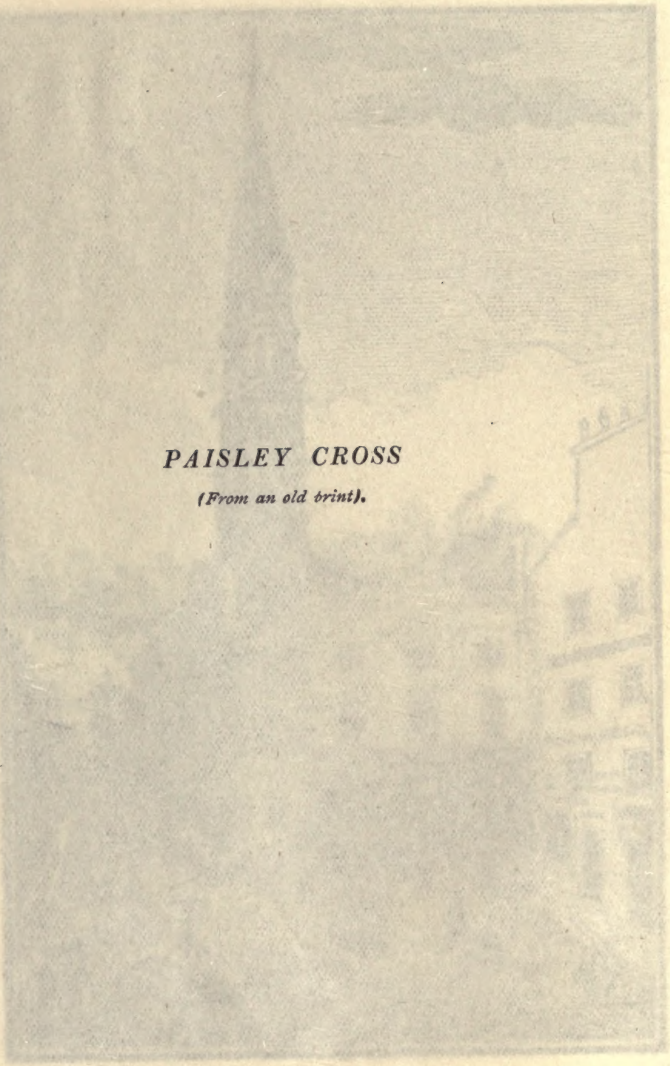
BY

W. M. METCALFE, D.D., F.S.A. Scot.



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAP

PAISLEY: ALEXANDER GARDNER
Publisher by Appointment to the late Queen Victoria
1909



PAISLEY CROSS

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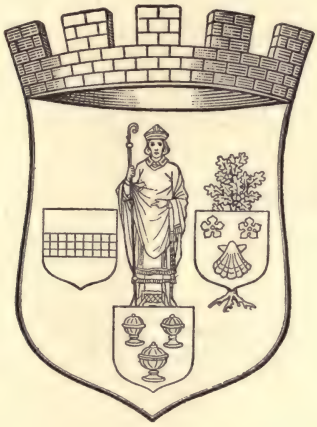
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PREFACE.

When writing a local history under limitations of space, one is obliged to select one's materials and to leave out many things which one would like to put in and which others would like to see. I am afraid, therefore, that some of my local readers may miss in the following pages some of the things they hoped to find. If they do, I trust they will find compensation in reading a number of others with which they were not acquainted. Of foot-notes I have made but a limited use, but such as I have written will be sufficient, I hope, to indicate the sources from whence the information given has been obtained. Three sources I must particularly mention: the late Provost Brown's History of Paisley and his History of the Grammar School, and the Poll Tax Roll which the late Mr. David Semple laboriously copied from the original and afterwards published in the *Glasgow Herald*. This, for the advantage of my readers and for its better preservation, I have ventured to transfer bodily to the following pages. Mr. Brown's books are specially valuable for the immense number of extracts they contain from the Town Council Records. They have saved me a vast amount of labour, and I desire here to acknowledge the fact. Many friends have given me information, and to one and all of them I tender my best thanks. And lastly, I am again under great obligations to my friend, the Rev. R. D. MacKenzie, the accomplished minister of Kilbarchan, who has read the proof-sheets for me and given me many helpful suggestions.

W. M. M.

Paisley, *April, 1909.*

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HISTORY OF PAISLEY.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST TIMES.

The Burgh of Paisley is situated in the County of Renfrew, on both sides of the White Cart, about seven miles to the south-west of Glasgow, and from two to three miles to the south of Renfrew, in latitude 55.51 N. and longitude 4.26 W.

Of its origin nothing is known. The Romans had a station on Oakshawhead, where the John Neilson Institution now stands, with outposts on Castlehead and Woodside; but the original site of the town was in Seedhill, on the north bank of the White Cart and to the east of the ancient mill. Its original inhabitants were probably Iberians, to whom were subsequently added, either before or immediately after the departure of the Romans, a number of Goidels and Brythons.

Its oldest recorded name is Paslet, Passelay, Passelet, Passeleth. The spelling varies at different periods; but there is no evidence that the place ever bore any other name than some form of the word "Paisley." Chalmers' conjecture that the Romans called it Vanduara rests apparently upon the mistake of a copyist who wrote "Vanduara" instead of Vandagora, the name of a place, which, according to the

position assigned to it by Ptolemy, corresponds very closely with Loudon Hill on the river Irvine.[1]

Paisley is first mentioned in connection with S. Mirin, who was long regarded as the patron of the town, and still figures as a mitred Abbot, pontifically vested, on the common seal of the burgh and on the seals of most of the public institutions of the town. A native of Ireland and a Scot of Dalriada, he was educated under S. Comgal at the monastery of Bangor, of which he was subsequently appointed prior. After discharging the duties of that office with distinction, he took to wandering, like most of the Irish monks of the period, and finally settled in Paisley.[2] Here he built a church, and continued for the remainder of his life to preach the gospel and to teach the arts of civilization. In the neighbourhood of his church he is said to have built a monastery. He may have done so; but the grounds upon which the statement is made, are slight and scarcely trustworthy, being nothing more than the occurrence of his name in one or two lists of abbots of doubtful accuracy. His church stood in the Seedhill, and down to the Reformation was used as the parish church of the town. Connected with it was a graveyard and a priest's house.[3] The priests

[1] Skene, Celtic Scotland, i. 73.

A number of derivations have been given for the word "Paisley." The curious are referred to Dr. Lees' History of the Abbey of Paisley, page 35, where, in a note, a selection of them is given. The present writer has no opinion on the matter.

[2] Aberdeen Breviary, *pars æstiv.*, fol. cvi.

[3] The graveyard is mentioned in the Town Council Records, under date April 2, 1620. In the same minute mention is also made of the "laich house." This may or may not have been the remains of the ancient presbytery house belonging to the church of S. Mirin; but, whether or not, a priest's house in connection with that church must at one time have existed. About the same time, mention is also made in the Town Council Records of "the house and yard of the chappellaner." The house here referred to is different from the one mentioned above. Under date January 31, 1618, it is spoken of in the Town Council Records as "the house . . . pertaining of old to the chaplains of the Altarages of SS. Mirin and Columba," and is of a much later date than the house which belonged to the priest serving the church of S. Mirin in the Seedhill or ancient Paisley.

serving the church were known as the chaplains of Paisley.[1] The tomb of the saint was in existence in 1491,[2] and doubtless continued to exist till the period of the Reformation.

S. Mirin is supposed to have settled in Paisley about the year A.D. 560. While at Bangor, he became acquainted with S. Columba, and is said to have accompanied S. Comgal on more than one of his visits to the great apostle of the Northern Picts, at Iona. According to Joceline, Columba visited S. Mungo or Kentigern on the banks of the Molendinar.[3] If this meeting of the two saints took place after the settlement of S. Mirin at Paisley, it is not unlikely that S. Columba turned aside and visited the pupil of his friend S. Comgal on the banks of the White Cart.

For over 500 years after the death of S. Mirin, or till shortly after the year 1141, nothing is heard of Paisley. The country was perpetually engaged in internecine strife or in repelling the invasions of the Saxons and Norwegians. From the silence about Paisley, it may be inferred that during the whole of these centuries nothing striking was done by the men of Paisley, and that nothing of importance took place in their immediate neighbourhood. Still it is scarcely possible that Paisley was altogether untouched by the strifes and commotions of the time, or that its fortunes were in no way affected by them. More than once the Northumbrians penetrated as far west as Cunningham, and were masters of Strathclyde. In 867, Olaf the White, the Norwegian King of Dublin, sailed up the Clyde, and after a siege of four months captured Dumbarton, the Cumbrian

[1] Reg. de Pas.. 51, 163, 176, 186, 232. In 1452, "Thomas de Preston, notary, curate of the parish church of Paisley" is a witness to a document, Reg. de Pas., 250. Luca, chaplain of Paisley, witnessed a charter belonging to about the year 1530, Reg. de Pas., 378; in 1295, Hugo, the parochial chaplain of Paisley, was also vicar of Kilmacolm, Reg. de Pas., 139; and about 1300, two chaplains of Paisley witness another charter—their names were William and Bryce—Reg. de Pas., 380. *Cf.* History of the County of Renfrew, 21, 181, 182 *n.*

[2] Metcalfe, Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Paisley, 42, 44.

[3] Vita Kentigerni, cap. 39.

capital. Many of the local names about Paisley are obviously of Celtic origin, but others of them are as obviously derived from the Norse or Saxon; such, for instance, as Todholm, Barterholm, Northholm, Nethercraigs, Oxschaw, Broomlands, Wellmeadow, Meikleriggs, Arkleston. Some of these may have come in much later, but some of them may have come in as early as the seventh or eighth century. In the middle of the twelfth century there is clear evidence of a Norse or Saxon element in the neighbourhood. At that time a carucate of land was held at Arkleston by one Grimketil. One swallow does not make a summer, but it is far from probable that Grimketil, who was evidently from his name of either Saxon or Norwegian origin, would settle down in a country so essentially Celtic as the district around Paisley then was, without a following of his kinsmen capable of rendering him efficient support in the event of his being attacked by his Celtic neighbours.

With the exception of Grimketil, the first person whose name occurs in connection with Paisley after that of S. Mirin is Walter Fitz Alan, the founder of the Abbey of Paisley and of the royal house of Stuart. After much speculation and uncertainty, the question of Walter's origin has recently been definitely settled by Mr. Horace Round. The earliest known of Walter's ancestors was Alan, Dapifer or Steward of Dol, in Brittany. This Alan had three sons: Alan II., Flaald, and Rhiwallon. Rhiwallon became a monk of S. Florent, a Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Angers, in France. Alan II. succeeded to the stewardship of Dol, and took part in the first crusade, 1079. Dying without issue, he was succeeded by his second brother, Flaald, who had one son, Alan III. On the accession to the English throne of Henry I., this Alan rose rapidly in the royal favour, and became an important figure at the English Court. From Henry he received the lordship of Oswestry, a rich estate in Shropshire, which had formerly belonged to the dispossessed Briton, Meredith ap Blechyn. He married, not, as has been alleged, the daughter of Warine, Sheriff of Shropshire, but Avelina, daughter of Ernulf de Hesdin, whom Mr. Round

has traced back to Hesdin in Picardy. Alan Fitz Flaald had three sons: Jordan, who succeeded to the stewardship of Dol, and appears as a benefactor of Sele priory in 1129-30: William, the founder of Haughmond priory and governor of Shrewsbury; and Walter. From William descended the Fitzalans of England, and from Walter, the Stewards of Scotland. Another of Alan Fitz Flaald's sons, Simon, is claimed as the ancestor of the Boyds of Kilmarnock.[1]

Among those whom David I. of Scotland met at the Court of Matilda, when he went to her assistance against Stephen, the English King, were the two brothers, William and Walter Fitz Alan. Along with David and others, they were witnesses to Matilda's charter to Haughmond priory.[2] They were with David at the rout of Winchester, December, 1141, five months after the signing of the Haughmond charter; and when David was obliged to retrace his steps to the North, he appears to have invited Walter, the second of the three brothers, to settle in Scotland. Walter accepted the invitation. Among those who accompanied him to Scotland were Simon, his brother; Robert Montgomery, son or nephew of the great Earl Roger who built the abbeys of Shrewbury and Wenlock; the Costentins, who, like himself, were of Breton extraction; Alexander de Hesting, probably a relative on his mother's side; Richard Wallace, ancestor of Sir William Wallace; Robert Croc, afterwards of Crookston; and Roger Ness,[3] who became Croc's neighbour at Levernside.

In Scotland, Walter had a successful career. He was appointed Hereditary High Steward of the Kingdom, and, among other lands, David bestowed upon him those of Renfrew, Paisley, Pollok, Talahec, Cathcart, the Drep, the Mutrene, Eaglesham, and Lochwinnoch. The charter conferring these gifts does not exist, but in a charter dated at Roxburgh, June 24, 1158, they are not only enumerated and

[1] Peerage Studies, 124 ff.

[2] Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, 123.

[3] The names here enumerated occur in various charters granted by Walter Fitz Alan and preserved in the Register of the monastery.

confirmed, but also considerably increased, by David's successor, Malcolm IV., who, in the same charter, acknowledges the services which Walter had rendered to himself and to his grandfather and predecessor, David I. The *reddendo*, or return, which Walter had to make for the gifts he received at the hands of his patrons, was the service of five knights.[1] Walter was also enriched by his wife, Eschina de Loudinis, a Saxon lady, who during her lifetime did much for the abbeys of Melrose and Kelso, as well as for the monastery of Paisley. As her marriage portion, she brought the lands of Molla and Huntlaw in Roxburghshire.

Walter's chief residence was the castle of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, which he is said to have built in the year 1130, a mistake, probably, for the year 1150.[2] He is said to have built a castle at Renfrew; but, as there was already a castle there, built by David I., the statement may be doubted. At Blackhall, not far from the south bank of the White Cart, and opposite to the village of Paisley, he built the castle or manor-house of Blackhall, which afterwards served the Stewards as a hunting lodge. Near to it, as early, at least, as the year 1272, was a chapel, which was served by a priest known as the chaplain of Blackhall,[3] and probably stood on what is now called Chapel Hill. This, also, may have owed its origin to Walter. A castle at Neilston is also ascribed to him. Portions of his estates in Renfrewshire Walter parcelled out among his followers, who built castles for themselves and had the lands around them cultivated by their serfs.

[1] Act. Parl. Scot., i. 92. The charter occurs at the end of the Paisley Chartulary MS., and is printed in the Registrum Monasterii de Passelet as an Appendix, and in Charters and Documents relating to Paisley, 1.

[2] Hewat, In the Olden Times, 14,

[3] "Dominus David Capellanus de Nigra aula," Reg. de Pas., 232.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDING OF THE MONASTERY.

When Walter Fitz Alan settled in Scotland, the condition of the country was very different from what it had been during the lifetime of S. Mirin. Five centuries had passed, and, notwithstanding their periods of anarchy, they had been on the whole centuries of progress. The political aspect of the country was entirely changed. Tribal and racial conflicts had practically ceased, the feudal system had been introduced into the Lowlands, and all political power was centred in the hands of a single ruler. Great changes had also been wrought in the Church. The forms and institutions of the old Celtic faith—the faith of SS. Columba and Mirin—had passed away. Under the influence of S. Margaret and her sons, and probably under that of the great families who had migrated from England to Scotland in order to escape the tyranny of the Normans or to push their private fortunes, the Church in Scotland had been largely assimilated in faith, discipline, ritual, and organization, to that in England. The country had been divided into sees and parishes; the old communities had been suppressed, and in place of monasteries after the type of Bangor and Iona, monasteries similar to those which were then rapidly covering the face of western Europe, were springing up. David the First's activity in this direction is well known, and his successor, Malcolm IV., though by no means a "sair sanct for the Scottis croun," followed in his footsteps, and built the monastery of Cupar Angus for the Cistercians, a Cistercian nunnery at Manuel, and a hospital at Soutra. It was during the second half of the twelfth century and the early part of the following, a period for the most part coincident with Walter's lifetime, that most

of the great ecclesiastical monuments of the country were built.

Not long after he received his charter of confirmation from Malcolm IV., Walter resolved to build a monastery upon the lands of Paisley, in order to complete the settlement of his Renfrewshire estates. As soon as his intention was known, he was importuned by the Cistercians, who were then in the zenith of their fame, to build the monastery in connection with their Order. But in the selection of an Order he was guided by family considerations, and at Fotheringay, while on a visit there with the King, shortly before the year 1163, he entered into an agreement with Humbald, prior of the Cluniac House at Wenlock, in Shropshire, by which the foundations of his monastery were virtually laid. According to this agreement, Walter was to build on his lands of Paisley a house of religion "according to the order of the brethren of Wenlock, that is, according to the order of the monks of Clugny." The appointment of the superior was to be in his own hands, and, after him, in the hands of his heirs and successors, and, except as to the general recognition of the Order, the house at Paisley was to be independent of the house at Wenlock. Humbald, on his part, was to obtain for the new foundation the sanction of the prior of La Charité and of the abbot of Clugny, together with the usual privileges. The priory of Wenlock was to supply Walter with thirteen monks for the purpose of starting his monastery, and for his trouble in the matter Humbald was to receive for his priory a full measure of land in the burgh of Renfrew and certain fishing rights on the Clyde.[1]

Stephen, the abbot of Clugny, and Sauaricus, the prior of La Charité, readily granted all that Humbald sought on behalf of the Steward. The abbot of Clugny went further. In recognition of Walter's liberality, he received him into the brotherhood of his Order and made him partaker of its prayers, decreeing likewise that in the event of Walter not

[1] Reg. de Pas., 1.

having already become one of their monks, the same offices should be said for him at his death as for one of themselves.[1]

While these matters were being arranged, an event happened which threw Renfrew and Paisley into a state of consternation. Somerled, chief of Argyll, who, after fighting against the Crown for a number of years, had recently made peace with Malcolm, suddenly broke out in rebellion again, and with his whole force, strengthened by a body of auxiliaries from Ireland, sailed up the Clyde, in 1164, and landed at Renfrew. According to one account, he had hardly landed at Renfrew when he and his son Gillecolm were treacherously slain; but according to another —the account which appears to be more generally received— he marched south towards Paisley, and was met at the Knock, a slight elevation about half-way between the two places, "by a number of countrymen," who were doubtless the Steward's men. In the battle which followed, Somerled and his son were slain, and their troops being defeated dispersed and fled to their ships. As late as the year 1772, a mound in a field near the Knock was pointed out to Pennant as the place where Somerled and his son were buried.[2]

The thirteen monks who were to come from Wenlock, did not arrive until the year 1169,[3] about six years after the arrangement about them had been made at Fotheringay. They were accompanied by Humbald, who, as soon as he had inspected the property he and his priory were to receive at Renfrew, exchanged it for the lands of Manwede[4] in Sussex, which also belonged to the Steward. His monks and he were received at Renfrew by the Steward, and lodged at the

[1] Reg. de Pas., 3.

[2] Tour in Scotland, 151, Chester Ed., 1774.

[3] This is the date favoured by the Chronicle of Melrose: "Humbandus Prior de Wenloc adduxit conventum apud Passelet qui est juxta Renfriu, anno 1169." According to a charter which occurs in the Register of the monastery, p. 249, the monks were in Renfrew before the year 1165; but the genuineness of the charter is extremely doubtful.

[4] Reg. de Pas., 2.

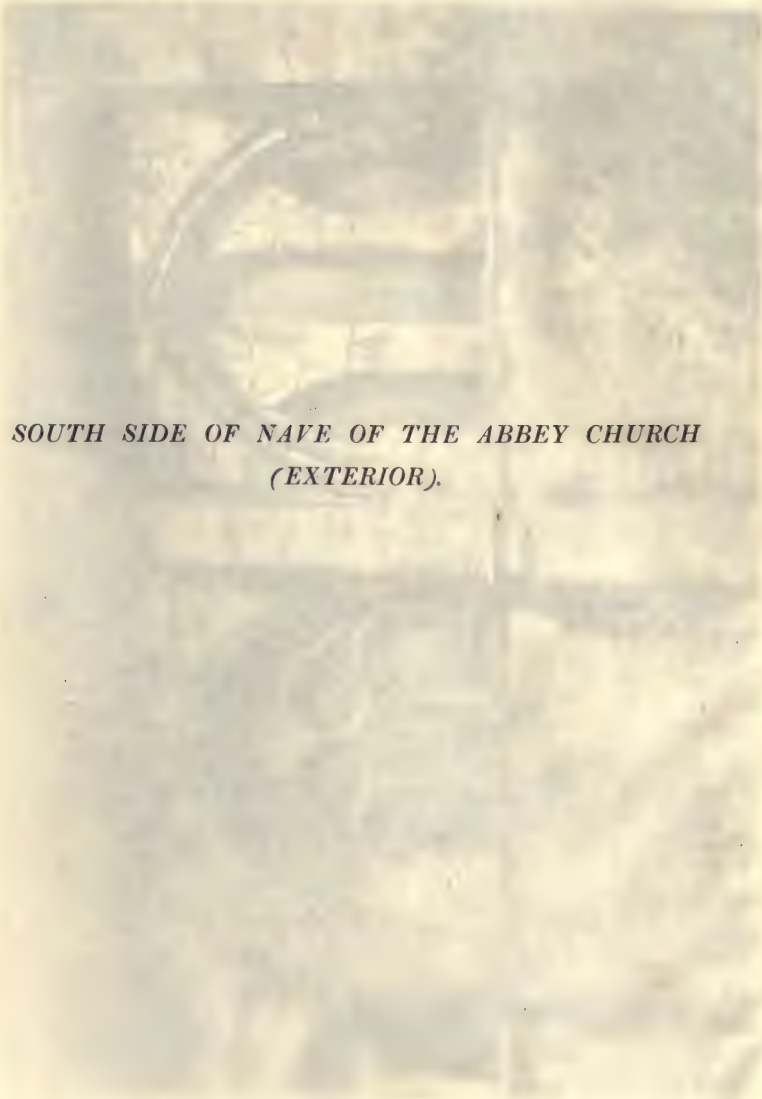
church of SS. Mary and James, situated on the King's Inch, now a part of the lands of Elderslie. The fact of their lodging there has given rise to the legend that the monastery of Paisley was first founded in Renfrew, and then transferred to the town of S. Mirin; but the sojourn of the monks on the King's Inch was only temporary. With the consent of Walter, Osbert, one of their number, was appointed prior, after which the "Holy Humbald," as he is designated, took his departure and returned to Wenlock.

The site chosen for the monastery was excellent. It occupied the edge of a wooded plain, protected on two sides by a tidal river abounding in fish and pearls. Opposite to it on the west rose the shelving bank of the White Cart covered by the Forest of Paisley. To the north-west were seen the wooded heights of Oakshaw, while to the south and south-west, beyond the forest of Paisley, were the forest of Fereneze and the wood of Stanely, with the Gleniffer Braes and the Fereneze Hills in the distance. On the north and east of the site stretched a dense wood, through which tracks led to the Steward's castle at Renfrew and the cathedral church at Glasgow. A little to the south-east, at the eastern extremity of a ridge of rocks over which the Cart falls, and on the same side of the river as the site chosen for the monastery, stood the mill of Paisley, and still further to the east, the town or village of Paisley, with its ancient church of S. Mirin, its churchyard and its village green. On the opposite side of the Cart and facing the village, stood, as has already been said, the Steward's hunting lodge of Blackhall, with the Saucel Hill and Hunter's Hill to the south and west in the background. Altogether the site was well chosen, and being not far from the middle of the Steward's possessions in the barony of Renfrew, was well suited as a place whereon to build a house which was to serve as a centre of religion and civilization for the district.

Osbert and his monks appear to have remained on the King's Inch not more than from two to three years. In a charter, which was executed not later than 1172, Walter speaks of the "Church of SS. James, Mirin, and Milburga of



SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH
(EXTERIOR).



SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH (EXTERIOR).

Paisley,"[1] of the monks serving God there, of their dormitory, and of the land on which they formerly dwelt at Renfrew. The inference from this is that when the charter was executed, the monks had already taken possession of their permanent abode.

What sort of structures the church and the dormitory were, and how much of the monastery had been completed when the monks took possession of the place, there is nothing to show. But assuming that the monks took possession in 1172, nearly three years had then elapsed since their arrival from Wenlock, and nine since the agreement was made at Fotheringay. Buildings were not rushed up then as rapidly as they are now; but, even in that leisurely age, nine years were quite sufficient, especially under the pressure of religious zeal, to allow of a considerable part of the conventual buildings and, at least, the choir of the church being built in a solid and satisfactory way. The fact that the dormitory was in existence when the charter of 1172 was executed, implies that at least a portion of the day rooms and offices had also been completed. The mention of the church and the reference to the daily services in it, do not necessarily imply that the church was finished. All they need imply is that the choir, or some part of it, was sufficiently advanced to permit the daily services to be celebrated in it without any great inconvenience to the monks. From another charter, it is evident that the chapter house was in use in 1177,[2] and the likelihood is that by that date a considerable portion of the whole of the buildings had been completed. The oldest portion of the buildings now extant is the eastern end of the wall of the south side of the nave of the church, adjoining the south transept. It consists of three bays, containing the south-east doorway, through which the monks passed from the cloisters into the church, and three pointed windows in the part above. This section of the building, it is said, probably dates from the first years of the thirteenth century,[3]

[1] Reg. de Pas., 5. [2] Reg. de Pas., 74.

[3] M'Gibbon and Ross, Ecclesiastical Architecture in Scotland, iii. 13.

and may be part of the original structure. Of the original choir—the part of the church always built first by the monks —there is nothing now to be seen. The rest of the building, with the exception of some lower courses in the nave, is of a more recent date.

The provisions which Walter made for the maintenance of his monastery were on an ample scale. They included the churches of Innerwick, Legerwood, Cathcart, all the churches of Strathgryffe, with the exception of the Templars' church at Inchinnan; the church of Paisley, with two carucates of land near it; Grimketil's carucate at Arkleston, a piece of land held by Scerlo, another piece in the forest of Paisley, facing the monastery, on the other side of the Cart, and afterwards included in the boundaries of the burgh, property near the hunting lodge in Blackhall, together with an island in the Clyde at Renfrew, the land which the monks formerly inhabited there, a full toft in Renfrew, fishings on the Clyde, a salt work at Kalentir, churches and lands at Prestwick and Monkton in Ayrshire, a full tenth of the Steward's hunting, with the skins, and the skins of all the deer he killed in the forest of Fereneze; also, a tenth of all the mills he possessed or might possess, a tenth of all his waste or forest land that might be reclaimed, with rights of pasture for cattle and swine, power to hold courts, levy fines, punish thieves and own slaves, as well as exemption from toll and custom, and the tenth penny of all his rents.[1]

Large as these endowments were, others immediately began to flow in, so that, by the middle of the thirteenth century, the wealth of the monastery had largely increased. One of the first, if not the first after his own, was from the hand of Eschina, his wife. Her benefaction was a carucate of land and pasture for five sheep at Hassendean. In the deed of gift the boundaries of the land are carefully described, and in the narrative of the deed, after saying that the gift is made for the welfare of the King, her husband, and others, she pathetically adds, "and for the soul of my daughter

[1] Reg. de Pas., 5, 7.

Margaret, who lies buried in the chapter house at Paisley." The date of the charter is 1177.[1] When it was executed, her husband was still living. In the following year he died, a monk of Melrose, and was buried in the monastery he had built and endowed by the White Cart.

[1] Reg. de Pas., 74.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRIORY.

The Order of Clugny was founded by William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, in the year 910, for the purpose of rescuing monasticism from the corruption into which it had fallen and of restoring its ancient discipline. The first house of the Order was built at Clugny, fifteen miles from Maçon-sur-Saône. Besides building the house, William bestowed upon it the whole of his domains, including forests, meadows, vineyards, fishings, etc., and placed it directly under the control of the Pope. Under a succession of able and saintly abbots, the Order acquired a world-wide reputation, immense wealth, and great political power. By the time of its ninth abbot, the celebrated Peter the Venerable, who died in 1156, two years before Walter Fitz Alan received his confirmation charter from Malcolm, no fewer than two thousand monasteries looked up to the abbot of Clugny as their head.[1]

Of the daughter houses of Clugny, very few were abbeys; most of them were priories. When the monasteries were suppressed in England under Henry VIII., out of the thirty-two Cluniac houses, only one—Bermondsey—was an abbey. Subject to the rule and authority of the abbot of Clugny, every prior was in his own house supreme, and invested with considerable power. The monks had the right of electing him, but, once duly elected, his rule was absolute. When necessary, he was to convoke a council of the brethren: on important occasions, of all of them; otherwise, only of the

[1] The authorities for this chapter are S. Willhelmi Constitutiones Hirsaugienses, Migne's Patrol, t. cl.; Helyot, Dict. Ord. Relig. (Migne), *sub* Clugny (Ordre de); several articles in Smith and Cheetham's Dict. of Christ. Antiqq., White and Arnold's Catholic Dict., Fossbrook's Monasticism, and Maitland's Dark Ages.

seniors; but in every case the final and irrevocable decision, from which there was no appeal, rested with himself. He could appoint to the other offices in his monastery and could dismiss from them, and was armed with power to enforce his authority. Like an abbot, he was a person of great distinction, fared sumptuously or otherwise as he chose, travelled in great state, and was everywhere received with marks of respect and veneration.

Among the other officials were the Cellarer, "who was to be the father of the whole society," and had the care of everything pertaining to the food of the monks; the Precentor, Chantor or Armarius, who presided over the singers, choristers, and organist, and taught the monks how to sing, chant, and read, and provided parchment and ink for the writers, colours for illuminating and material for binding the books; the Kitchener, who had it in his power to greatly distress the brethren by always giving them the same dishes; the Seneschal, or Steward was often a layman, who presided in the court of the monastery and did the prior's business with the King, by paying money into the exchequer and performing other duties of a similar kind; the Chamberlain, who received the gifts and oblations made to the monastery, and provided the monks with clothes, beds, stools, knives, razors, cowls, girdles, etc.; the Granetarius, or, as he was called in Paisley, the "Granter," who kept an account of all the barley and wheat sent in to the monastery, and noted the quantities sent out to the kiln or mill to be turned into malt or flour. Still other officials were the Treasurer, Sacrist, Almoner, Infirmarer, the Master of the novices, the Porter, the Vaccarius or Herdsman, and the Porcarius or Swineherd. After these came the rank and file of the monks, who were divided into seniors and juniors, and took rank according to seniority, the youngest going first and the oldest last.

Admission into the brotherhood was not easy. A brother coming from another monastery was not admitted unless he brought with him satisfactory certificates of character and letters of commendation. All others had to serve a novitiate or period of probation. Minors were not admitted without

the consent of their parents or guardians, or unless they had been formally disinherited. Eighteen years was fixed as the earliest age for self-dedication. A written petition for admission was invariably required. Three times, at certain intervals during his probation, the Rule of the Order was read over to the novice, in order that he might weigh well what he was undertaking, and that his assent might be deliberate. The final vow was made with all possible solemnity in the chapel, before the relics in the shrine, with the superior and all the brethren standing by, and once made was irrevocable.

The life of the members, except when the Rule of the Order was ignored, was not luxurious. Their food was poor, their duties numerous, and their labours heavy. The Rule of the Order laid down with the greatest precision, entering into the most minute details, what they were to do during almost every hour of the day and of the night. One remarkable feature about it was the strictness with which it enjoined silence upon the brethren. The prior and several other officials were allowed to speak because of the necessities of their office, but the rest, during the greater part of the day, were forbidden to speak, and were permitted to communicate with each other only by signs. Rather than break this rule, they were prepared to suffer anything, even death. While at work in the fields, or on their way to and from them, the monks recited psalms. While there or elsewhere, their conduct was narrowly watched by the *circatores*, who checked irregularities and reported them on the following morning in the chapter, where the faults laid to the charge of the brethren were generally dealt with. Every week one of the brethren was appointed to read the Scriptures during meals, which were, of course, taken in silence. At dinner they had two dishes and fruit. One pound of bread a day was allowed to each for dinner and supper, but no meat, except to the sick, and three-quarters of a pint of wine or a measure of beer. After September 13, except on festivals of twelve lessons or on the octave of Christmas, only one meal

a day was allowed. Eating after compline (about nine P.M.) was forbidden with the utmost strictness.

One practice of the Cluniacs is particularly deserving of notice, as it contradicts an opinion still prevalent respecting the knowledge which was then had of the Scriptures. According to Ulric, who drew up a full account of the practices of the monks in the archimonasterium of Clugny thirty years after he had ceased to reside there, the monks of Clugny were not only obliged to know the whole of the Psalms by heart, they were also habitual and frequent readers both of the Scriptures and of the most approved commentaries upon them. The book of Genesis, we are told, was read through in a week; Isaiah, in six sittings; and the Epistle to the Romans, in two evenings. The Acts of the Apostles were read during Easter week and again after Ascension Day to Pentecost. The book of Revelation and the canonical epistles were read after the Acts of the Apostles for two weeks before Ascension Day. The other books of the Scriptures were also read, as were also at stated times such books as S. Augustine's Exposition of the Psalms, S. Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Leo's Letters on the Incarnation.

While the readings were going on at night or during the midnight hours, care was taken to keep the monks, doubtless exhausted with the labours of the day, awake and attentive. One of the brethren used to go round, both within and without the choir,[1] carrying a lantern in his hand and narrowly observing all who were present. If he observed one whom he thought was asleep, he immediately flashed the lantern three times in his eyes. If he made no sign and so proved to be asleep, the lamp was set down before him, and, awakened by those near him, he had to rise and take his turn of carrying the lantern round and looking for sleepers. These practices, which, Ulric tells us, were observed at the

[1] The choir itself was occupied by the monks, and the places adjacent to or without it by the *conversi* or lay brethren belonging to the monastery.

great monastery at Clugny, were doubtless followed at the humbler house at Paisley.

Only two priors are mentioned as having held rule in the house built by Walter Fitz Alan. The first, as we have seen, was Osbert, one of the thirteen monks Humbald brought with him from Wenlock. He was appointed with the consent of Walter at Renfrew, while the monks were waiting there until their house at Paisley was ready to receive them. Osbert's successor was Roger. Extremely little is known about either of them. Osbert's name occurs but once in the Register of the monastery.[1] It is mentioned in a deed by Pope Alexander III., in which, under date March 25, 1172, he confirms to the monastery all the lands and churches bestowed upon it by Walter Fitz Alan, and grants to it all the rights and privileges belonging to it as a house of the Order of Clugny. Roger's name occurs three times in the Register. In or about the year 1180, Robert Croc and Henry de Ness, two followers of Walter and "special friends of our house," asked leave from Roger and his chapter to build chapels in their castles, where divine service might be celebrated for themselves and their households. Robert Croc desired also to build a chapel for the sick brethren in a hospital which he had recently built at Crookston, and to have services held in it. The requests of both were granted, but only upon conditions. The chaplains were to belong to the priory, to swear fealty to it, to bring all the offerings made at the chapels to the mother church at Paisley; no parishioner of Paisley was to be permitted to hear mass in the chapels, and in the event of any of the sick brethren in the hospital dying, their bodies were to be brought at once to Paisley, and no mass was to be celebrated for them at the infirmary chapel. It was further stipulated that on the principal festivals, except when prevented by reasonable causes, the two knights and their households should attend the church at the priory, and that if the mother church suffered any loss or damage through the celebration of divine worship in the

[1] Page 408.

chapels, they were at once to be closed.[1] Roger and his brethren were only trustees, and in any concessions they made, had to be extremely careful, lest they should be called in question by the abbot and general chapter of Clugny.

The date of Roger's death is unknown. During his incumbency as well as during that of his predecessor, the priory received many benefactions in addition to those already mentioned. Shortly before Walter died, Henry de S. Martin, one of the Steward's followers and with his full consent, gave to the monks his two carucates[2] of land, known as Penuld, in the parish of Kilbarchan, and took his place in the priory as a monk.[3] Somewhere between 1164 and 1207 began that connection between the monastery at Paisley and the Highlands, which afterwards became so intimate and full of trouble. Reginald, "Lord of Inchegal," son of that Somerled who sailed up the Clyde and landed with his wild clansmen and Irish auxiliaries at Renfrew in 1164, bestowed upon the monks, perhaps by way of atonement for what his father had done, eight oxen, and for every house in his land from which smoke issued two pennies for the first year, and in every succeeding year one penny. At the same time, his wife Fonia gave them a tenth of all the goods "God had given her, both of those which she retained at home, and of those which she

[1] Reg. de Pas., 77, 78. When Walter of Lindesei desired to have a chapel at Lamberton, a similar arrangement was made. "Arnold, the Prior of Coldingham, to whom belonged the parish church, consented that he should have mass celebrated during his lifetime in the chapel he had built in his Court (curia) of Lamberton, and Lindesei swore that the mother church should in nothing suffer thereby. It was provided that there should be no access to the chapel except through the middle of his hall or chamber. The services were to be conducted by the chaplains of the mother church whom he should deal with to celebrate them. There was to be no celebration of mass on the five festivals of Christmas, the Purification, Pasch, Pentecost, and the feast of the dedication of the church, that the oblation might not be drawn from the parish church." C. Innes, Sketches of Early Scot. Hist., 15; Raine, N. Durham, App. 649.

[2] Two carucates make about 208 acres, but the actual area of the land extends to over 2000 acres.

[3] Reg. de Pas., 48, 49.

sent by sea or land for sale." Reginald appears to have had some doubt as to the willingness of his heirs to pay the hearth tax, and in his charter he tells them that unless they pay it, and pay it promptly, they will incur his curse. He also enjoins his friends and men to maintain peace always and everywhere with the monks and their men, and to assist them in all their affairs. If any of his heirs ill treat them, they are to have his malediction; if any of his men do so, they are to be punished. In token of his good faith he swears by S. Columba, an Isles man's greatest oath. In return for their benefactions, Reginald was made a brother, and Fonia a sister, of the house of Paisley and of the Order of Clugny, sharing the prayers and "the rest of the rites of the divine service."[1] Reginald died in 1207, and was buried at Iona. Dovenald, his son, confirmed the grant of the hearth tax; and after him Angus, his son, did the same, adding half a merk of silver yearly and permission to the monks or anyone bearing their letters to fish in any part of his domains.[2]

To the churches with which Walter Fitz Allan had endowed the priory, others were added. Peter de Pollok gave to it the church of Mearns; Henry, the son of Anselm, the church of Carmunnock; William the Lion, the church of Rutherglen; Count Baldwin of Lanark, the church of Inverkip; Walter Hose, the church of Craigie.[3] They were all received during the second half of the twelfth century. Each church carried with it its own lands, tithes, and privileges, and so contributed to the enrichment of the priory. Other houses received similar gifts. At the time, it had become the custom for patrons, with the consent of their bishops, to confer churches upon monastic houses; and in some parts of the country the religious houses were in possession of a majority of the parish churches. A little later Paisley had thirty; Holyrood, Melrose, and Kelso had each twenty-seven; and during the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214)

[1] Reg. de Pas., 125. [2] Reg. de Pas., 126, 127.

[3] Reg. de Pas., 100, 105, 106, 112, 231.

no fewer than thirty-three were bestowed upon one monastery alone—the newly-founded abbey of Arbroath. The intention of these gifts was no doubt good, but the policy which dictated them was of more than doubtful expediency. It helped to defraud the parishioners of the spiritual ministrations to which they were justly entitled, and, in the long run, contributed more than anything else to the ruin of the ancient Church.

In the case of Paisley the custom was not long in bearing fruit. The monks appear to have reduced the stipends of the vicars of their churches to the lowest point. Whether the vicars complained to the bishop is not said. But in the year 1224, the bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews stepped in and claimed the right to tax the revenues of the churches belonging to the priory for the more liberal payment of the vicars, and also to exact certain dues in name of procurations. The bishops had the authority of a Scottish Ecclesiastical Council to support them. In defence, the prior appealed to Rome, and pled his cause in person before the Pope, as the supreme protector of the Order of Clugny. Honorius III., who was then Pope, remitted the matter to a commission, consisting of the bishop of Lismore and the abbots of Kilwinning and Dercongal, and gave the bishop, sitting with one of the abbots, full power to settle the dispute. The commission met at Peebles, in November, 1227, and managed to arrange a compromise between the contending parties, the effect of which was that the prior undertook to increase the vicars' stipends, to admit the right of the bishop of Glasgow to procurations according to a scale agreed upon, and to transfer the church of Erskine to the cathedral of Glasgow in compensation for certain losses the bishop had sustained.[1] It was hoped that the controversy between the monastery and the bishop would in this way be permanently settled; but it was not in the nature of things for it to be so. In subsequent years it broke out again and again, and was

[1] Reg. de Pas., 324.

probably never settled, the monks always claiming that they and their churches were independent of the jurisdiction of the bishop and subject only to the Pope.

As might be expected, the chief benefactors of the priory continued to be the Stewards. Alan, son and heir of Walter the founder, followed in the footsteps of his father, and was a liberal giver. Beyond his pious benevolence, little is known of him. He married Eva, daughter of Swan, son of Thor, Lord of Tippermuir and Tranent, by whom he had no children, and subsequently Alesta, daughter of Morgand, Earl of Mar. He was a counsellor and friend of William the Lion, and is said to have taken part in the fifth crusade, but, as he died in 1204, and this crusade did not begin till 1216, the statement is evidently erroneous. His gifts to the priory were numerous. For four chalders of wheaten flour and four and a-half of grain as a yearly rent, he gave the brethren the mill of Paisley, together with a piece of ground on which to build a house for the miller,[1] but on condition that they surrendered their right to one-tenth of all his mills—a right which had been conferred upon them by his father.[2] He gave them also the lands of Moniabrock, in Strathgryffe, near to the great boulder stone of Clochoderick,[3] fishing rights in the loch of Lochwinnoch, and the five merks of silver which the monks of Melrose were in use to pay him annually for Mauchline.[4] But the chief of his gifts was the church of Kingarth in the isle of Bute, with its chapels, the whole of the parish of the island, and all the land the boundaries of which are said to have been marked out by S. Blane, and "which," as the charter bears, "are still apparent from sea to sea."[5] This was probably the last of his gifts. He died in the year in which the charter was granted (1204), and was buried in front of the high altar in the church of the priory.

Walter, the son of Alan and Alesta, married Beatrix, daughter of Gilchrist, who held the title of Angus. In 1231,

[1] Reg. de Pas., 13. [2] Reg. de Pas., 6. [3] Reg. de Pas., 13.
[4] Reg. de Pas., 14. [5] Reg. de Pas., 15.

Alexander II., appointed him Justiciar of Scotland, and five years later sent him to negotiate his marriage with Mary, daughter of Engleram, Count de Courci. But high as his position in the State was, his chief interests lay in Paisley. Within ten years after his father's death, he bestowed upon the priory all the land lying between the streams still known as the Altpatrick and the Espedair, "as the Altpatrick falls into Kertlochwinnoc and the Espedair falls towards the lands of the monks, lying between the Black Lyn and the Kert of Paisley," but he specially excepted birds and beasts of game, and prescribed fines for any of the monks' cattle found trespassing within his forests, and especially within the forest of Fereneze. At the same time, he gave the monks wood for building and dead wood for fuel, and pasture in his forest for a hundred swine in time of mast. Another of his gifts was the land between the Maich and the Calder, and a piece of ground to the east of the mill of Paisley, "to the burn on the west of the Cross of our Lord as the burn rises at the boundary of the monks and falls into the Cart."[1] In exchange for their lands at Innerwick he gave them three carucates of land at Hillington, "which Randolph, the chaplain, had held," and thirty bolls of flour which were paid yearly by Ada de Kent, and the right of procuring, at the sight of his foresters, wood for fuel and timber for building in his forest beyond the Cart.[2] But the greatest of his donations was the magnificent gift of his later years, when he bestowed upon the priory the monastery of Dalmulin, with all its possessions. This monastery he had built in 1229, for canons and nuns of Sempringham, who were usually known as Gilbertines. After remaining in the place for some nine years, "the monks and nuns," according to Spottiswood, "not agreeing with the air of the country, returned to England," to Syxle, in Yorkshire, from whence they had come. Belonging to the monastery were the church of Dundonald, with its chapels of Crosby and Riccarton, the churches of Sanquhar and Auchinleck, and the lands and

[1] Reg. de Pas., 17.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 20.

pastures of Drumley, Swineshales and Petihaucingowin,[1] etc. All these Walter bestowed upon the monks of Paisley in 1246, the Master of Sempringham waiving all his rights to them on condition that he was paid a yearly pension of forty merks[2]—a condition which, as we shall see, was subsequently a source of trouble to the monks.

A gift which came to the priory from a different quarter was quite as troublesome. In 1227, Maldoven, Earl of Lennox, conveyed in free gift to the priory the church of S. Patrick, built upon the supposed birthplace of the apostle of Ireland, together with all the lands with which it had been endowed by his father, Alwin, in 1199. The land were those of Cateconnen, Cochinach, Edenanernan, Baccan, Finbealach, Drumcrene, Graguentalach, Monachkernan, Dumtechglunan, Cuiltebut, and Dalenenach and their pertinents. Others were added later, and, like the rest, were situated on the northern shore of the Clyde, in the earldom of Lennox, close to the Highland line.

Two of the Earl's family took exception to his liberality towards the Paisley priory. One of them, his eldest son, challenged the Earl's right to give away the lands of Cochinach, which, he maintained, belonged to him hereditarily, and the convent had to pay sixty merks to buy him off, *pro bono pacis*, as it is said. The other was the Earl's brother, Dufgall. At the time of the gift, Dufgall was rector of the church of Kilpatrick. He possessed some skill in the drawing of deeds, and having no desire to be placed under the monastery and to see so large a slice of the family estates alienated, he forged a set of charters in which he made himself the proprietor of the lands of Cochinach and Baccan and a number of others which had been given to the monks, and then, fortified by his forgeries, defied the monastery to assert its claim. The stroke was bold, but failed. The prior appealed to Rome, and in 1233, Pope Gregory IX. issued a commission to the deans of Cunningham and Carrick, and the schoolmaster at Ayr to try the case. For some time Dufgall

[1] Reg. de Pas., 18, 21, 22.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 24.

paid no attention to the citations of the commissioners, but at last, when threatened with excommunication, and with being handed over to the secular arm for punishment, he appeared before them in the parish church of Ayr "on the Saturday following the Lord's Day, on which is sung *Quasi modo geniti.*" When the charge of forgery was preferred against him, "he did not dare to contest it, but conscience-stricken and in fear of imminent dangers to his body and soul, if the charge were proved against him, he sought mercy instead of justice," and placed himself in the hands of the prior and convent, who, on the advice of the judges, "gave him the mercy he pled for and allowed him to hold his church and half a carucate of land at Cochmanach." Dufgall confessed the forgeries, formally resigned the lands he claimed, and, after thanking the prior for his clemency, went home, it is to be hoped, a wiser man.[1]

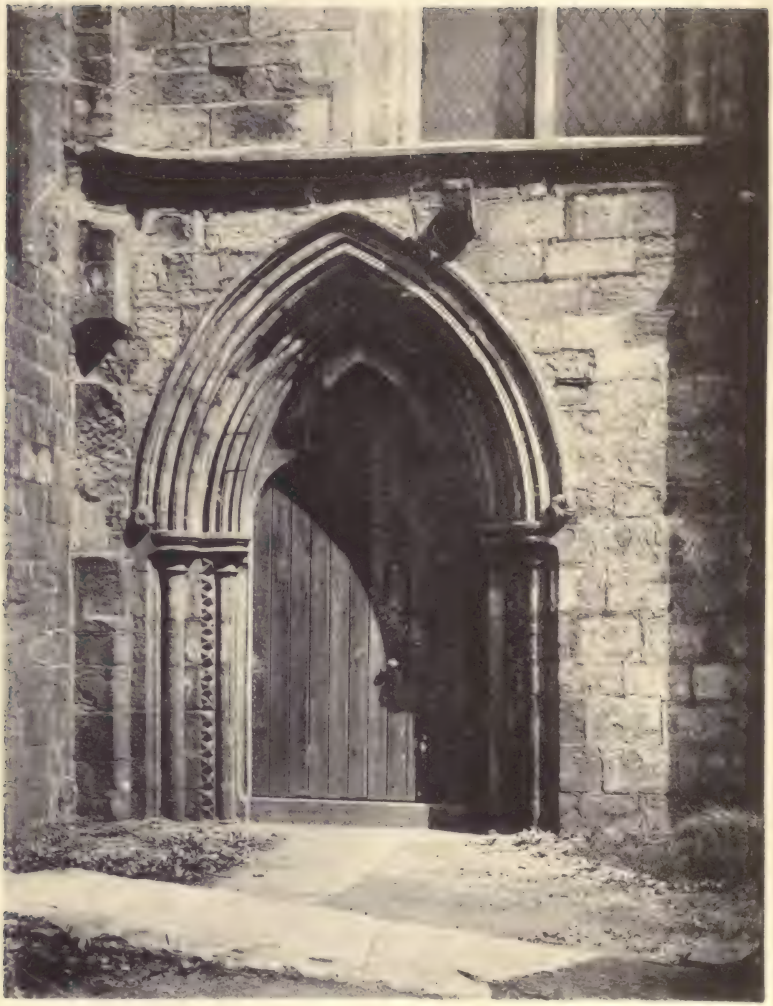
The commissioners had also before them the case in connection with the lands of Monachkernan, which had recently been seized, and continued to be held, by a layman, Gilbert, the son of Samuel of Renfrew, who was probably a follower of Lennox. Gilbert was summoned to appear before the commissioners in the parish church of Irvine, but merely sent word that he would do what was right. The commissioners thereupon proceeded to take evidence, and most interesting is the record of it which has been preserved in the Register of the monastery.

According to that, Alexander, the son of Hugh, being sworn, deponed that some sixty or more years before, the lands of Monachkernan had been tenanted by one Beda Ferdan, who lived in a large house made of twigs next the cemetery and on the east side of the church of Kilpatrick, that he had held the lands of the church, and that in return, or as rent, he rendered the service of receiving and feeding the pilgrims who came to the shrine of S. Patrick there. He said, further, that Beda by the same title and for the same service held the lands of Cuiltebut and Dumtechglunan.

[1] Reg. de Pas., 157-165.

Thomas Gaskel deponed to the same effect, and added that Cristinus, son of Beda Ferdan, had held the lands on the same terms as his father before him. Both Alexander and Gaskel had seen Beda Ferdan. The first said that when a boy, he had been received and entertained along with his father at the place by Beda. Gaskel said that he had been born and bred in the place, that he had seen Cristinus occupying the lands on the same terms as his father, and enumerated other lands there which belonged to the Church. Dufgall, the rector and brother of the Earl of Lennox, of whom we have just heard, corroborated the evidence of both Alexander and Gaskel. Anecol, another witness, deponed that when Earl David, in the time of King William, sought to raise men from the lands of Kilpatrick, as from the other lands in the earldom, he could not, because they belonged to the Church. All this evidence was abundantly confirmed by other witnesses, and the commissioners found against Gilbert, and for the priory. They condemned Gilbert to pay the expenses of the suit, namely, "thirty pounds to be sworn and taxed," and asked the bishop of Glasgow to enforce their sentence. Gilbert was subsequently excommunicated for contumacy, and at the request of the commissioners, King Alexander II. put in force against him "the secular arm." But neither the secular arm nor the arm of the Church seems to have been able to dispossess him. At the end of two years, however, he was induced by the Earl of Lennox to resign his charters and to renounce for himself and his heirs all claims to the lands in dispute, on the promise of payment of sixty merks of silver, in three portions of twenty at a time. Various other lands belonging to Maldoven's donation, which had been alienated from the Church, mainly, as Dufgall confessed, through his fault and negligence, were gradually brought back, and the monastery finally came into possession again of them all.[1]

[1] Reg. de Pas., 166 ff.





NAVE OF ABBEY CHURCH, SOUTH-WEST DOOR.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ABBEY.

Meanwhile the minds of the Steward, prior, and monks had been agitated by another matter of very serious importance. Soon after Humbald, "the holy," had ridden away from Renfrew, carrying with him the title deeds of the lands of Manwede, in Sussex, it was discovered that in the charter of liberties and immunities which he had secured to the new house at Paisley there were serious defects, or, at any rate, that it did not contain all that the Steward had expected it to contain. In the first place, there was no word in it about monastic professions; and in the second, to mention no others, nothing was said in it concerning an abbot. The consequence was, not only that the monastery was set down in the second rank of religious houses, but also that no one could attain to the full status of a monk in Paisley without first going all the way to Clugny and there making his profession before the head of the Order. This was quite contrary to the intention of the founder, who, if he had chosen, could have obtained all the privileges he desired for his house from any other of the Orders,[1] and the bishop of Glasgow, when writing to Stephen, the arch-abbot, somewhere between the years 1243 and 1258, did not hesitate to say that Walter Fitz Alan, the Steward, had been "circumvented and deceived by the said Humbald."[2]

The correspondence on the subject was probably extensive. As soon as the discovery of the defects was made, Walter the founder would doubtless put himself in communication both with Wenlock and with Clugny, and some very plain words

[1] Reg. de Pas., 15.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 16: "Circumventus fuit et deceptus dicto Humbaldo."

would be written to the head of each of these houses. But neither the letters of Walter nor those of his son and successor had the desired effect. At length, influenced no doubt by his Justiciar, Alexander II. took the matter in hand, and applied to Pope Honorius III., setting forth in his letter the great loss which the convent had sustained through want of an abbot, how the monks had not been able to make a regular profession, "to the great peril of their souls and the dissolution of order," and asking his authority for the creation of an abbot in the monastery. In reply, Honorius issued a bull, dated at Reate, in 1219, in which he directed the bishop of Glasgow and the abbots of Melrose and Kelso to enquire into the whole circumstances of the case, and authorized them, in the event of their being satisfied, to allow the monks to proceed to the canonical election of an abbot.[1]

The commissioners, with the exception of the abbot of Melrose, who sent a "sufficient excuse," met at Jedburgh, to which place, "on the advice of certain men skilled in the law," they had summoned the prior and convent of Wenlock to appear before them, and to state whether, and if any, what objections they had to make to the proposed change at Paisley. The brethren at Wenlock did not appear at the meeting, but sent letters to the commissioners, in which they stated that they had no objections to make to the proposed change. The commissioners decreed, but with the reservation of the rights of others, that the monks at Paisley might proceed to the canonical election of an abbot,[2] and the Lord High Steward, as hereditary patron of the house, as might be expected, cheerfully gave his permission. This was in the year 1219 or 1220.

There was still the abbot of Clugny to reckon with. Among the rights reserved by the commissioners at Jedburgh were his, and most important they were. Without his consent, not even a pope could raise a prior among the Cluniacs to the dignity of an abbot. When his consent was asked, it was refused, and the Cistercians, who had all along

[1] Reg. de Pas., 8.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 9.

kept their eye upon the rich priory and done all they could to get it transferred to them, renewed their intrigues, promising the Steward the privileges which Clugny refused to grant, and subjecting the monks to not a little persecution, in order to compel them to agree to the transfer.[1] But neither the monks nor their patron were minded to separate from the Order of Clugny; still less were they disposed to join the Cistercians, notwithstanding the inducements held out to them and the great power the younger Order was gradually acquiring in the country. At length, in the year 1245,[2] or some twenty-five years after the refusal, the case was taken in hand by the bishop of Glasgow and other bishops from Scotland, who pled the cause of the monks so effectually (probably while they were paying a visit to Clugny as they returned from the Council of Lyons) that Hugh, the arch-abbot, gave the requisite permission, but on condition that in all time coming the abbot and convent should make an annual payment of two merks to the Cluniac monastery at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, at the feast of S. Peter *ad vincula*. For some reason or other the abbot and convent failed to make this payment, and, thirteen years later, Stephen, the arch-abbot, revoked the permission granted by his predecessor, S. Hugh. The bishop of Glasgow again came to the help of the monks, and again obtained the necessary permission, on promising in their name prompt payment of the two merks yearly in future, and undertaking that the abbot should henceforth, within seven years after his election, either in person or by proxy, visit the monastery at Clugny, to make obeisance and give an account of his stewardship to his superior.[3]

The first abbot appears to have been William. The title may have been assumed by prior Roger on the strength of the Jedburgh finding in 1219; but the date of his death is

[1] Reg. de Pas., 16.

[2] This seems to be settled by the reference to the Council of Lyons in the bishop of Glasgow's letter (Reg. de Pas., 16), which was held in 1245.

[3] Reg. de Pas., 16, 17.

unknown. William's name occurs several times in the Register from the year 1225 to the year 1248.

Abbot William was an able and busy man, who during his term of office did much to protect the privileges of the abbey and to establish its prosperity upon a solid foundation. It was he who resisted, although not altogether successfully, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow. It was he, also, who rescued the Lennox property from Dufgall, the rector of Kilpatrick, and his friends. The part he played in another controversy was scarcely so successful or so honourable.

In 1240, Duncan, the first Earl of Carrick, conveyed to the prior and his monks certain lands, churches, and possessions, on condition that they established a monastery of their own Order within his domains. The prior and his monks wished, if possible, to avoid the condition, and, instead of building a monastery, built only a chapel or oratory, which they served themselves, and appropriated the rest of the gifts of Earl Duncan to the uses of the priory. The Earl was indignant, and demanded that William and his monks should fulfil the contract to the letter. At length the case was formally submitted by both parties to the bishop of Glasgow. The finding of the bishop, which is dated 1244, was in favour of the Earl. He directed that the monastery stipulated for by the Earl should be built at Crosraguel, and that the monks, who were in the first instance to be drawn from Paisley, should be free to elect their own abbot and be independent of the house at Paisley, except that the abbot there should be entitled once a year to exercise the right of visiting the monastery at Crosraguel. He further directed that the monks at Paisley should transfer all the property they had in Carrick to Crosraguel, and that Crosraguel, on the other hand, should make a yearly payment to the house at Paisley of ten merks.[1] With this decision William was by no means pleased, and appealed to Rome, complaining bitterly of the "enormous diminution" of revenue his house sustained by the decision, and praying for redress. It is doubtful whether

[1] Reg. de Pas., 424.

he lived to hear the result of his appeal. The matter was not taken in hand at Rome until the year 1265, when he was probably dead.[1] At any rate, in that year the Pope issued a Commission of Enquiry to the bishop of Dunblane, the abbot of Dryburgh, and Master Roger de Derby, precentor of the cathedral of Aberdeen,[2] who, having heard parties, sustained the judgment appealed against, except, probably, that they gave back to the monastery of Paisley the three churches of Turnbery, Stratton, and Dalmakeran and the five penny lands of Crosraguel and Suthblane,[3] all in Carrick.

In 1246, two years after the bishop of Glasgow had given his decision respecting Earl Duncan's gifts and against which, as we have just seen, William appealed, Walter, the grandson of the founder, died, and was buried in the abbey. He had been a liberal benefactor to it, and had witnessed its almost surprising prosperity. More than one agreement in its favour was made during his lifetime at Blackhall, where he frequently resided, perhaps to be near the abbey, or, what is quite as likely, to be near his hunting grounds in the forests of Paisley and Fereneze. His last donation to the abbey was an annual payment from the mill of Paisley of two chalders of meal for the support of a monk to perform divine service for the soul of Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, grandfather of King Robert I.[4]

Alexander, the son and successor of the above-named Walter, a man of wisdom, energy, and piety, lived in close intimacy with the abbey, and, like his ancestors, though less bountifully than some of them, added to its wealth. Soon

[1] Reg. de Pas., 345, where, in a bull of Clement IV., May 23, 1265, he is reported as dead. Whether he was alive earlier in the year is uncertain, but the probability is that he was. See Reg. de Pas., 422.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 422.

[3] The church of Turnbery and the lands of Crosraguel and Suthblane were earlier gifts of Duncan, Reg. de Pas., 411, 412. In 1236, Alexander II. granted a charter to the monks of Paisley, in which he confirmed to them the churches of Turnbery, Stratton, and Dalmakeran and the lands of Crosraguel and Suthblane, Reg. de Pas., 427.

[4] Reg. de Pas., 86.

after his accession to the Hereditary Stewardship, he completed the work he had begun during his father's lifetime, of enclosing a deer park in the neighbourhood of his hunting lodge at Blackhall to the east of the Espedair. Having, in order to extend it, taken in some land belonging to the monks, he gave them in exchange the same number of acres near their church at Inverkip. He gave them also six acres near their chapel at Lochwinnoch, eight chalders of meal from the rents of Inchinnan, and permission to draw water from the Espedair for the use of their mill, provided it was done without injury to the deer park mentioned above.[1] On the first Sunday in Advent, 1252, he appeared in the abbey church to receive the benediction of the abbot before starting on a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of S. James de Compostella in Spain,[2] and before he actually set out on his long and perilous journey, he gave the abbot and convent a charter in which he confirmed them in the possession of all the gifts which he and his ancestors had made to them.[3]

Of the adventures the Steward met with during his pilgrimage, nothing is known. He was back in 1255, when he was appointed one of the Regents of the kingdom.[4] In 1263,

[1] Reg. de Pas., 88.

[2] For those departing on a pilgrimage, the Church had a regular service, of which Fosbrook gives the following description: "The pilgrims first confessed all their sins, after which they lay prostrate before the altar. Particular prayers and psalms were then sung over them, and after every psalm [with manifest skilful appropriation] the *Gloria Patri*, the psalm *Ad te Domine levavi* and the *Miserere*. At the end of these the pilgrims rose from their prostrate condition, and the priest consecrated their scrips and staves, saying: 'The Lord be with you,' and 'Let us pray,' etc. He next sprinkled holy water upon their scrips and staves, and placed a scrip around the neck of each pilgrim with other religious services. Afterwards he delivered to them the staff with similar prayers. If any of the pilgrims were going to Jerusalem, their garments were in readiness marked with the Cross, and the crosses were consecrated and sprinkled with holy water. The garments and crosses were delivered to the pilgrims with appropriate prayers. The service concluded with the mass *De iter agentibus*." Monachism, 326.

[3] Reg. de Pas., 90.

[4] Hailes, i. 202; Robertson, Early Kings, ii. 66, etc.

King Hakon of Norway sailed up the Clyde with a mighty fleet and harried Arran and Bute and the Lennox, and among others, doubtless a number of lands and churches belonging to the abbey. The Scots sought to negotiate, but the terms offered by the Norwegian were impossible, and on October 2 the battle of Largs was fought, in which Hakon was totally defeated and many of his ships destroyed. In the accounts of the battle, the names of only two Scotsmen are mentioned: one is that of Sir Pierce Curry, whose death is minutely described in the Norwegian Chronicle; the other is that of Alexander, the Steward. In Bellenden's graphic description of the fight he is designated "of Paisley." "Incontinent," says Bellenden, "Alexander Stewart of Pasley came with ane bachment of fresche men to the middleward, quhair King Alexander wes fechtand aganis King Acho with uncertane victory. The Danes seand this Alexander cum, gaif bakkis, on whom followit the Scottis, with gret cruelte, throu all Cunninghame, and maid ithand slauchter on thaim, quhill the nicht put ane end to all thair labor."

The last we hear of Abbot William is in 1248, when he witnessed a charter of the Earl of Lennox. Between that date and the year 1272, no name of an abbot of Paisley occurs. As already noted, when the final decision on the Crosraguel case came, William was already dead, but the precise date of his death is not known. There can be no doubt that when he died, he left the abbey in a prosperous condition, and much more wealthy than he found it. During his incumbency the possessions of the monastery were increased by considerable additions acquired in the West Highlands and in Ireland. The churches of Kilfinan, Kyllenan, and Rosneath, fishings on the Gareloch and on the water of Leven, a salt work at Rosneath and the lands called Tibiror at Dumals in Ireland,[1] had all become the property of the convent during the first half of the thirteenth century. To these, others were subsequently added, and the connection between the monastery and

[1] Reg. de Pas., 132, 133, 209, 211, 213, 412.

Argyllshire was still further strengthened. In 1250, Dovenald de Gilchrist, lord of Tarbert, gave the monks full liberty to cut timber in any of his forests for building or for the repair of their monastery. Three years later, Angus, his son, bestowed upon them the church of S. Querain, in Kintyre; and in 1261, Dugald, the son of Syfyn, gave them the church of S. Colmanel, with the chapel of S. Columba, near his castle at Skipness, for his own welfare and for that of his wives, Juliana and Johanna, and desired that, when he died, his body might be buried at Paisley.[1] In 1268, Angus, son of Duncan Ferkard, gave to the monks part of his lands of Kilmor on Lochgilp, with the chapel of S. Mary situated upon it. These distant possessions were not always easily managed, but, as a rule, they were a source of income.

An idea of the property, rights, and privileges which the monastery enjoyed after the end of the first hundred years of its existence and before the wars of Independence broke out, may be gained from the following bull of Pope Clement IV., dated in the year 1265. Twenty years had then to elapse before the country was plunged into grief by the lamentable death of Alexander III., and half as many more before the invasion of Edward I. of England; but the date is sufficiently near for our purpose.

"Clement Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons, the Abbot of the Monastery of S. James and S. Mirin Confessor of Paisley, and the brethren there as well present as future in all time coming following the monastic life. It is proper that the Apostolic protection should be given to those choosing a religious life, lest, perchance, any indiscretion draw them off from their purpose, or, which heaven forbid, impair the strength of their holy religion. Wherefore, beloved sons in the Lord, we graciously assent to your just demands, and receive the Monastery of S. James the Apostle and S. Mirin Confessor of Paisley, in the diocese of Glasgow, in which you are vowed to divine obedience, under the protection of S. Peter and our own, and fortify this ordinance by the present writing. In the first

[1] Reg. de Pas., 120, 127, 137, 157.

place, we ordain that the monastic order which, it is known, was instituted in that monastery according to God, and the rule of S. Benedict, and the institution of the Cluniac order, be observed there inviolably in all time coming. Moreover, let whatever property and whatever goods the said monastery may at present justly and canonically possess, or may in future acquire by the concessions of Popes, the bounty of Kings or Princes, the oblation of the faithful, or in other just methods, by the favour of God, remain sure and inalienable to you and to your successors: of which things we have reckoned the following worthy of express mention:—The place in which the said monastery is situated, with all its pertinents, and the chapel of Lochwinnoch with its pertinents, the churches of Innerwick, of Legerwood, of Cathcart, of Rutherglen, of Carmunnock, of Pollock, of the Mearns, of Neilston, of Kilbarchan, of Eastwood, of Houston, of Killelan, of Erskine, of Kilmacolm, of Inverkip, of Largs, of Prestwickburgh, of the other Prestwick [Monkton], of Cragie, of Turnbery, of Dundonald, of Sanquhar, of Auchinleck, of Kilpatrick, of Rosneath, of Kyllynan, of Kylkeran, of S. Colmanel, of Scybinche, with their chapels, lands and other pertinents; the chapel of Kylmor at Kenlochgilpe with its pertinents, and the land with its pertinents which Duncan, the son of Ferchard, and Lauman, his cousin, gave to your Monastery there; and all that whole land lying on both sides of the Cart, as the late Walter Fitz Allan, Steward of the King of Scotland, founder of the monastery, himself bestowed it; and the carucate of land with its pertinents which Grimketel formerly held, and which is now called Arkleston, and the carucate of land and its pertinents which you possess between the Cart and the Gryfe, which is now called the Inch; and the whole land of Drumloy and the Swynschawis, and the Graynis, which is now called Drumgrane, and the whole land of Hakhyncog of Dalmulyn with its pertinents, and the land which you have in the manor of Pollock; and the whole land of Drepss, which the late William, son of Maduse, held at ferm of the monastery; and a carucate of land at Huntly with its pertinents which the late King William of Scotland excambed with lands which you had in the manor of Hastendene; and the carucate of land with its pertinents which the late Eschena de Molla, wife of the founder, bestowed on your monastery there, and the fishing which you have on the water of Clyde between Partick and the island which is commonly called the Island of

Renfrew, and an annual of half a merk of silver which you have from the ferm of the Burgh of Renfrew, and the mill which you hold in the tenement of that Burgh, with the water courses and all its pertinents, and a full toft in the town which is called Renfrew, and one net for salmon which you have in the River Clyde at Renfrew, and the land which you possess there near your mill, and the lands of Hillington and Castleside with their pertinents, and the whole mill of Innerwick, with the water courses and all the pertinents; and the whole land of Prestwick with its pertinent which is commonly called Monkstown, and the land of Moniabrock as it is said to be held in the deed of gift, and the land of Cnoc, and the mill of Paisley with its full sequel which you hold by the gift of the late Walter, son of Alan, Steward of the King of Scotland, the Patron of your monastery, and half the fishing at the issue of the loch of Lochwinnoch, with that liberty of fishing in the lake itself which Walter, the founder of your monastery, granted to you, and the whole land of Penuld with its pertinents which is called Fulton, as Henry de St. Martin, with the consent of his lord is said to have conferred upon your monastery; and the land situated between the Maich and Calder with its pertinents; and that part of the land where the mill of Paisley is situated, which the said Walter the Steward granted to you by certain boundaries; and the land beyond the Cart, between the Espedair and Auldpatrick, as the said Steward gave it to you with all liberties and easements in the forests of Paisley and Seneschathir as far as is said to be contained in the letter of donation; and the land at Carnebro which you have from the gift of the late Uchtred, son of Paganus; and the land with its pertinents which the late Walter called Murdhac bestowed on your Monastery at the Orde; and the annual rent of a chalder of wheat which you have from the gift of the late Patrick Earl of Dunbar; and the annual rent of a chalder of wheat and of half a merk of silver which you have at Cadiou by the gift of Robert de Loudon, brother of the late King of Scotland; and an annual rent of one merk of silver from Kilbride by the gift of the late Phillip de Valons; that fishing which you have from the gift of the late Maldoven, Earl of Lennox, upon the water of Leven which is called Linbren, with the land between it and the highway leading to Dumbarton as he assigned it to you with its pertinents; and the lands with their pertinents which you have in the County of Lennox,

which are commonly called Coupmanach, Edinbernan, Bacchan, Finbelach, Cragbrectalach, Druncrene, Dallenenach, Drumtoucher, Drumteyglunan, Drumdeynanis, Cultbwy, and Reynfod as is said to be more fully contained in the letters relating thereto; and the land which you have in the place called Monachkenran, with its pertinents; and the land with its pertinents which Thomas, the son of Tankard, conferred on your monastery at Moydirual; and the land with its pertinents called Garyn which your monastery received from the late Rodolphus de Cler; and the whole land of Crosraguel and Sutheblan with its pertinents from the gift of Duncan, Earl of Carrick; and two chalders of meal from the meal of Inchinan which you received by donation from Alexander a noble patron of your monastery, in exchange for the multure of the Rass; and the annual rent of two merks of silver which you receive from the mill of Thorton as is said to be contained in the letters relating thereto, with lands, fields, vineyards, woods, customs, and pastures, in wood and plain, in waters and in mills, in roads and paths, and in all other liberties and immunities. Let no one presume to demand or extort from you tithes of your newly reclaimed lands which you cultivate with your own hands or at your own charges, of which no one has hitherto received tithes, nor from your animals' food. It shall also be lawful for you to receive as converts, free and unfettered, clerical or lay persons fleeing from the world, and to retain them without any contradiction. However, we forbid any of your brethren after making his profession in your monastery to depart thence without leave of his Abbot, unless he joins a stricter Order. But let no one dare to detain a person departing without authority of your common letters. It shall also be lawful for you when a general interdict is laid on the land, provided that you yourselves do not give cause of interdict, to perform Divine services with closed doors, excommunicated and interdicted persons having been excluded, but without ringing of bells and with suppressed voice. You will receive also chrism, holy oil, consecration of altars or churches, ordinations of priests for administering of rites, from the bishop of the diocese, if he is a Catholic and has the favour and communion of the Holy Roman See, and is willing honestly to give them to you. We forbid any one to dare to build chapel or oratory within the bounds of your parishes, if you have any, without your consent and that of the bishop of the diocese, reserving the privileges of the Roman

Pontiffs. We forbid entirely all new and unjust exactions to be made upon you by archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, and all persons ecclesiastical or secular. We decree also the burial ground of that place to be free; that no one resist the burial of those who, in their devotion, or by their last will, have desired to be buried there, unless they are interdicted or excommunicated or public usurers, saving the just rights of those churches by whom the bodies of the dead are claimed. You are also permitted by our authority to recall to the use of the churches to which they belong the tithes and possessions pertaining to your churches which are detained by laymen, and to redeem and lawfully to free them from their hands. And when you the Abbot of this place or any of your successors go away, no one shall be placed there by cunning or by violence except him whom the brethren shall have elected by common consent or the greater part of the brethren of wiser counsel according to God and the rule of S. Benedict. We, wishing with paternal solicitude to provide for the future as also for your peace and tranquillity, prohibit by Apostolic authority, within your enclosures or granges all rapine or theft, fire-raising, shedding of blood, rash seizure or slaying of men, or exercise of violence. Moreover, we confirm all the liberties and immunities made to your monastery by our predecessors the Roman Pontiffs; also liberties and exemptions from secular exactions granted to you for good reasons by Kings or Princes, or by others of the faithful, we confirm by Apostolic authority and fortify with the ordinance of this present writing. We therefore decree that it shall not be lawful for any one soever to rashly disturb the said monastery, or to take away any of its possessions, or to retain them when taken away, to diminish them, or to annoy it by any vexatious acts; and that all things which have been granted for any future purpose whatsoever shall be preserved entire for the discipline and maintenance of its inmates, reserving the authority of the Apostolic See and the canonical rights of the bishop of the diocese. If therefore in future any secular or ecclesiastical person, knowing this writ of our constitution, shall attempt rashly to contravene it, let him, after being twice or thrice admonished (unless he shall atone for his fault by a suitable satisfaction), be deprived of the dignity of his power and honour; and let him know that he stands charged by the Divine Justice with the iniquity so committed; and let him be cut off from the most Sacred Body and Blood of our God and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and let him lie under His severe

vengeance at the last judgment. But upon all who shall preserve for the said place its rights, let the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest, so that here they may receive the fruit of their good deeds, and obtain at the hands of the Righteous Judge the rewards of eternal peace. Amen."

To the privileges enumerated in this bull, Clement added several others, namely, freedom from being brought before secular judges, freedom from sequestration for debt, and the right to receive the dues from all their churches without being interfered with by the bishop in whose diocese they were situated.

In the valuation of Boiamund of Vicci, which was drawn up some years later (1275) and formed the basis of all subsequent Church taxation down to the Reformation, the abbey of Paisley was valued at £2,666, and the daughter house at Crosraguel at £533 6s. 4d.

The monks of Paisley, like many others, had other means of adding to their property than the gifts of pious benefactors, though it was upon these that they chiefly relied. Before the date of Clement's bull they had become money lenders, and, in default of payment, often obtained the property belonging to their debtors. In 1260, Adam, called the carpenter, compelled by the necessity of poverty, "which knows no law," as it is quaintly put in the deed, made over, with the consent of Eva, his wife, to the abbot and convent his land of Haldingleston, "in consideration of a sum of money, with which they in his great need paid his debts and relieved the poverty of himself and his family." Two years later, Cecilia, widow of John Perthec, conveyed to the abbot and convent her property in Rutherglen, because they, "filled with charity," had, "in her great necessity" and "to the relief of her wants," given her three chalders of meal. By a similar transaction, in 1280, they obtained possession of a piece of land in the burgh of Renfrew, belonging to Eda, widow of Stephen de Lithgow. In the same year, Adam de Burne and Marjory, his wife, "being so oppressed with poverty and burdened with debts, that they could not rise above them,

and compelled by necessity which knows no law," sold their lands in Newton on Ayr to the abbot and convent of Paisley for five merks of silver, "which the monks placed in their hands to pay their debts"; and Adam, formerly a burgess of Glasgow, called "of Cardelechan," transferred his property lying in Fishergate, below the Bridge of Clyde, to the abbot and his monks for a sum of money, the amount of which is not stated.[1]

When King Alexander III, "that Scotland led in luive and le," met with his fatal accident at Kinghorn, March 12, 1286, Alexander, the fourth Steward, had been dead some years. He was succeeded by his son James, but in what year is not definitely known. Apparently it was in or about the year 1283. From that date the steady flow of gifts to the abbey suddenly ceased, and between the death of Alexander III. and the accession of Robert II., with the exception of the Stewards', very few are chronicled in the abbey's Register.

Somewhere between the death of his father and the year 1303, James, the fifth Steward, gave the monks the right to cross the Kert Lochwinnoch between his own yare and theirs, and undertook to allow no one to put obstructions in the stream or to injure the fishing.[2] In 1294, he confirmed to them the gifts of his ancestors, and added others of his own. The charter by which he did this is long, and remarkable for the number of restrictions it contains. The rights of the forests were now being more carefully attended to than they had been a couple of centuries before; this was rendered necessary partly by the increase of the population, and partly, it is probable, by the way in which the monks and their tenants were extending their agricultural operations and encroaching upon the waste or forest lands. However, in the charter referred to, James gave the monks the right of quarrying stones for building and lime-stone for burning, both at Blackhall, within the forest of Paisley, and elsewhere throughout the barony of Renfrew; the right of digging for coal for the use of the monastery, its granges,

[1] Reg. de Pas., 58, 71, 375, 376, 399.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 254.

smithies, and breweries; of making charcoal from dead wood, and of cutting turf for covering the charcoal; of cutting green wood for the monastery and grange buildings and for all operations of agriculture and fishing; and of gathering dead wood for fuel without restriction, except in his parks and preserved forest. He gave them the right, also, of carriage through the forest of all these necessaries, whether on wains, wagons, pack-horses, or oxen, but not through his manors, orchards, gardens, cornfields, or preserved forest. The boundaries of this last are all carefully described in the charter: "as the Ruttanburn falls into the Laverne, and ascending by the water of Laverne to the Blackburn, and by the Blackburn ascending to a certain ditch between Lochleboside and the Wlplayss, and by that ditch going up to the loch of Lochlebo, and by the said loch westward to the marches of Caldwell, and by the marches of Caldwell northward, ascending by a certain ditch on the west of Carmelcolme between the Langesawe and Dungelsmore, and from that ditch across the moss to the head of the Altpatrick, and descending that stream to the march of Stanely, descending between Stanely and Cokplyss to the Ruttanburn, and so on by the Ruttanburn descending to Laverne." The district thus described stretches along the heights of Gleniffer, and though more circumscribed than it was in the days when Walter Fitz Alan and his son Alan measured off a piece in front of the rising monastic buildings "beyond the Kert," the forest of Paisley was still wide enough for the deer in it to roam about undisturbed. And in order that they might remain undisturbed, the Steward in his charter marked out the ways by which the monks and their servants were to pass: "the roads of Arlaw, Conwarran, the Rass, Stokbryg, and the customary tracks of the husbandmen." They were to be allowed to go armed with swords, bows and arrows, and other necessary weapons, and to lead with them greyhounds and other dogs; but when they passed through the preserved forest, they were to lead their hounds in leash and to unstring their bows. Rights were given the monks to hunt and hawk over their own lands, and

to fish in all the streams of the forest and in the whole river of Kert-Paisley and Kert-Lochwinnoch, but the Steward reserved to himself the birds of game, hawk and falcon. He gave the monks the right also of a water course from the water of the Espedair, both within and without his park of Blackhall, on condition of being allowed the use of the mills for grinding his corn at his own expense.[1]

When Parliament assembled at Scone immediately after the death of Alexander III., James was appointed one of the six Guardians of the kingdom, and pledged himself to maintain the cause of the Maid of Norway. Soon after he signed the Turnbery bond, by which he and others—his friend Bruce among them—declared that henceforth they "would adhere to and take part with each other on all occasions and against all persons, saving their allegiance to the King of England and their allegiance to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland by right of descent from King Alexander, then lately deceased."[2] He favoured the marriage of the Maid of Norway, Alexander's granddaughter, with Edward, Prince of Wales. The Estates of Scotland also favoured the union, and at an assembly held at Brigham, near Berwick, where many lords, barons, and prelates—among whom was the abbot of Paisley—were present, a letter was agreed upon, in which they assured Edward I. of England of their hearty concurrence in the "marriage of Margaret, their dear Lady and Queen, with Prince Edward." The Steward was the fourth to sign this letter, as he was also another, addressed to the King of Norway, in which he was urged to send the young Queen to Scotland not later than the Feast of All Saints. The abbot was naturally of the same mind as his patron.

How the hopes of the country were disappointed need not here be told. In the contentions which arose on the death of Margaret respecting the succession to the Scottish Crown, the Steward steadily supported Bruce, and with him acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount. He was one of the arbiters

[1] Reg. de Pas., 92. [2] Stevenson, Hist. Docs. Scotland, i. 22.

on the part of Bruce in the presence of the King of England, the latter of whom had secured his influence by the gift of an obligation to bestow upon him lands of the annual value of one hundred pounds. When Edward, after crushing the rebellion which his vassal John Balliol had headed, held a Parliament at Berwick, August 28, 1296, both the Steward and the abbot of Paisley were present, and each signed the Ragman Roll, after swearing upon the gospels, like the rest, "of his own free will" that he would be "true and loyal and keep faith and loyalty to the King of England and to his heirs, and that he would never bear arms for any one, or give advice, against him or against his heirs in any case which can happen." Two others from Paisley who signed the same Roll were "John Hunter de la foreste de Passelay" and "Thomas le Breuster of the forest of Passelay," both of whom were in all probability the Steward's men. Both of them evidently resided in the forest of Paisley, and John Hunter probably on Hunter's Hill, as the Steward's chief huntsman.

While at Berwick, the abbot was sharply taken to task in connection with the pension of forty merks which the monastery had undertaken to pay to the Master of Sempringham in return for Dalmulin and its property. For some reason or other, these forty merks had been allowed to fall into arrears. Perhaps the abbot and convent had forgotten to pay them; but, judging from their conduct in the Crosraguel business, they were more willing to receive than to give. Anyhow, while at Berwick, abbot Walter was sharply reminded of the obligation. The prior of Malton, who was of the Order of Sempringham, brought the matter up, and abbot Walter was compelled to acknowledge, in a document which was witnessed by the King,[1] that he owed the Master of Sempringham forty merks, and to undertake to pay, in addition to ten merks which he paid on the spot, the thirty more which were owing after the Feast of S. Michael next, as well as to agree for himself and his convent that, in the event of the pension not

[1] Stevenson, Hist. Docs. Scotland, ii. 82-3.

being paid in future, it should be levied from their goods and chattels in the county of Lanark, in which the barony of Renfrew was then included.

Other troubles, in some respects of a more serious kind, had from time to time been pressing the abbot and convent nearer home. About the year 1270, the disputes in connection with the abbey's property in the Lennox were revived. John de Wardroba, Bernard de Erth, and Norinus de Monorgund, who had married grand-nieces and heiresses of Dufgall, the vicar of Kilpatrick, who had been so summarily silenced in the church at Ayr, revived the claims which Dufgall had abandoned, on behalf of their wives, and were apparently inclined to prosecute them with vigour. The abbot, whether William or Stephen, or another, did not go to law, but, for some reason, perhaps because of some defect in the monastery's titles, or because he desired to settle the matter amicably, paid the claimants, *pro bono pacis*, as it is said, one hundred and forty merks, and received in return a separate charter of agreement and resignation from each of them. After this, in 1273, the Earl of Lennox, "before he received knighthood," confirmed to the abbot and convent all the lands they held in his barony.[1]

In 1294, when either Stephen[2] or Walter was the abbot, another and more vigorous attempt was made to strip the monastery of the Lennox property. Fortunately for the monks, the patriot bishop of Glasgow, Robert Wishart, came to their assistance, and for a time, at least, prevented the attempt from being successful. Robert Reddehow and Johanna, his wife, claimants, like those already mentioned, submitted their claims to the Earl of Lennox, and the Earl and his steward, Walter Sprewl, proceeded under royal authority to try the case.[3] The abbot refused to appear

[1] Reg. de Pas., 189-204.

[2] Stephen witnessed a charter granted by James the Steward to William Preston of Tranent in the year 1285, J. G. Wallace-James, Deeds relating to East Lothian, 8.

[3] Reg. de Pas., *201.

before a secular court or to acknowledge the right of the Earl and "those holding court with him" to interfere with the property of the monastery, even when professing to act under royal authority. Wishart supported him. Taking his stand on the high ground of spiritual independence, he issued a mandate requiring the Earl to cease entirely from the cognition of such cases as by royal authority he had caused to be dragged into his court, and ordering Reddehow and his wife, under the threat of the greater excommunication, to desist from prosecuting the abbot. The Earl and his steward paid no heed to the bishop's mandate, and, in spite of the threat of the greater excommunication, Reddehow and his wife persisted in the prosecution, "maintaining a protracted obduracy of mind and as children of perdition irreverently contemning the keys of the Church." The bishop, therefore, enjoined five of his clergy—the vicars of Carmunnock, Cathcart, Pollok, Kilmacolm, and Kilbarchan—"to go on the day on which the abbot was summoned to the Earl's court, to the place of trial, and taking with them six or seven of their own order, personally to advance to the said Earl and his viceregents, bailiffs, and others holding court with him" and again warn them to desist entirely from the cognition of all such cases. They were also to warn Reddehow and his wife, and any others "who were prosecuting the said religious men before the said court, to cease wholly from their prosecution." If all this failed, the guilty parties were to be held as excommunicated and their lands and churches were to be interdicted; and, if they deemed it expedient, "the vicars, clothed in white sacerdotal vestments, were, in full court, publicly and by name, to denounce and cause to be denounced, the persons there excommunicated in all the churches of the deanery of Lennox and archdeaconry of Glasgow, especially on each Lord's day and festivals, with candles burning and bells ringing, after the offertory of the mass." They were, further, to warn the faithful to avoid them, and to place the lands and churches of those who refused to obey them under special interdict. Sir James Graham and a number of others are particularly mentioned by name. This terrible document

is dated by the bishop at "Casteltaris," August 22, 1294.[1] It does not appear, however, to have had the desired effect. Two years later, the bishop had to return to the contest, when he directed the dean of the jurisdiction of the Lennox to take with him four or five of his order and admonish the Earl and his bailiffs "not to presume to drag the abbot and convent before his court." The controversy, as we shall see, was not finally settled till after the Wars of Independence.

[1] Reg. de Pas., *204. See also Sir W. Fraser, The Book of Lennox.

CHAPTER V.

WALLACE AND BRUCE.

Elderslie, the birthplace of Wallace, lies within the parish of Paisley, between two and three miles to the west of the Abbey Church. Richard Wallace, or Richard the Welshman, was a follower of Walter Fitz Alan, and probably came north with him. He received land about Kilmarnock, built Riccarton, or Richard's town, and was one of the witnesses to the original endowment charter of Paisley abbey. Henry, his second son, held lands of the Steward in Renfrew, which probably included Elderslie, and was the grandfather of Malcolm Wallays of Elderslie. Malcolm married Margaret, daughter of Sir Reginald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayrshire. By her he had three sons, Andrew, William, and John. William, the second son, was the patriot. The date of his birth is unknown, but it may probably be set down about the year 1270. In all likelihood he was educated at the school of the neighbouring monastery. If there was no church nearer, he would be in the habit of attending the abbey church on Sundays and festivals with his parents and brothers, and of there listening "to the solemn rise and fall of the Gregorian chant." It may be, too, that it was here that he first contracted that affection for the Book of Psalms that characterised him throughout life.

In 1296, when the Steward and some two thousand other Scotsmen signed the Ragman Roll and made submission to Edward, Wallace treated all proposals for submission with disdain, and, along with Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, retired to the north. The successes he obtained gradually aroused the spirit of the people, and began to tell upon the vacillation of the nobles and, not least, upon the mind of the

Steward. At Stirling, the Steward and Lennox were on the side of the English, but when the English were fleeing before the Scots, the Steward led his followers in pursuit of them. Soon after, a letter was addressed to him as one of the friends of the English King, but by this time he had ceased to vacillate, and was one of the staunchest supporters of the national cause. In 1302, he was sent by the Scots to watch over their interests at the court of France, and when, in 1304, Comyn, the governor of the country, submitted to Edward and a general amnesty was proclaimed, he was along with Wallace among the few excepted on account of "their more obstinate rebellion."

With the Steward and Wallace so closely connected with it, the abbey of Paisley, as might be expected, was not allowed to remain unmolested. At the hands of both clerics and laymen it suffered severely. Taking advantage of the lawlessness of the times, a number of them, we are told, invaded the abbey lands, invented claims against them, and seizing sometimes the monks, sometimes their lay brethren, and sometimes their goods and chattels, detained them until they received such satisfaction as pleased them.[1] In their distress the abbot and convent appealed to the Pope, and on December 21, 1300, Boniface VIII. issued a bull, in which he strongly denounced those who troubled them and forbade anyone to invade their lands or in any way to molest either them or their possessions. The bull was of as little avail to protect the monks as it was to save the country from the calamities which were gathering against it. Within five years of its issue, Wallace was betrayed and beheaded. In the next (1306) the Red Comyn was slain and Bruce was crowned at Scone. The conflicts which followed need not here be followed. The history of the abbey and town of Paisley is summed up in the Scotichronicon in a single pathetic line. Under the year 1307 occurs the entry: "In this year the English burnt the monastery of Paisley." Who was the leader of the English, to what extent the abbey was

[1] Reg. de Pas., 417.

injured, how the monks escaped, and whether any of them were slain—are points on which nothing is said. Nor is anything said as to how the town fared at the hands of the English. There can be little doubt, however, that it shared the fate of the abbey. That the ruin of the abbey was nearly complete may probably be inferred from the fact that the architecture of almost the whole of the present buildings belongs to a later period. During the same conflicts, the beautiful abbey of Kelso was destroyed, and its monks and lay brethren were dispersed over Scotland begging food and clothing from the more fortunate of the religious houses. Whether the monks of Paisley were reduced to the same straits is not known. That they suffered many privations may probably be assumed; but the conjecture that immediately after the conflagration they removed to Glasgow and took up their residence there, till the coming of better times, in the house bought of William de Bonkel, in the Wynde, by Abbot Roger,[1] is scarcely tenable. Roger did not become abbot till 1312, five years after the conflagration, and there is nothing to show that the monks left Paisley or the abbey, or that they sought residence in any other place.[2]

There is a document in Fordun which, if really genuine and reached its destination and was acted upon, would come to the monks as a sort of solatium for the loss they had

[1] Dr. Lees, Paisley Abbey.

[2] The deed of conveyance is undated. In the Register it follows three deeds relating to the same property, one of which is also undated. The others are dated 1283, but that proves nothing as to the date of Bonkel's sale of the house to Abbot Roger, except that it was later. Following Bonkel's deed is another, in which Bonkel's brother-in-law vouches for the sale to Abbot Roger, and lays himself and his heirs under certain penalties if any of them raise any objections against its validity. This document is dated in the year 1321, nine years after Roger became abbot, thirteen after the visit of the English, and nearly forty after the deeds which have been used to fix the date of Bonkel's sale were executed, and in which, by the way, Bonkel's name is not mentioned. The mention of Abbot Roger's name in what is called in the Register "Our charter of the baronage in le Ratonraw," proves that the purchase was not made before 1312, while the deed of Bonkel's brother-in-law suggests that the date of the sale was nearer to 1321 than to 1312.

suffered at the hands of the English. According to the story Robert the Bruce had already been absolved from the crime he had committed before the high altar in the church of the Franciscan friars at Dumfries by Wishart, the bishop of Glasgow, before his coronation at Scone. But his conscience being still uneasy, he desired absolution from the Pope. Messengers, one of whom, according to a recent conjecture, was the Steward, were sent to obtain it. The Pope, Clement V., listened favourably to the request, and gave the necessary instruction to his Penitentiary, Cardinal Berengarius, who, on July 23, 1307, issued the following commission:—

"Berengarius, by the Divine mercy Cardinal Presbyter, by the title of Saint Nereus and Achilles, to the holy man the Abbot of the Monastery of Paisley, of the Order of Saint Benedict, in the diocese of Glasgow, salvation in the Lord. A petition presented to us by a certain noble, Robert de Bruce, layman of Carrik in the said diocese, stated That he lately, with certain accomplices, being inspired by the Devil, slew John and Robert Comyn, knights, who provoked him very much, in the church of the Minorite Friars of Dumfries. But as he and his accomplices, on account of the great strifes and the perils of war, are not able to go to the Apostolic Seat, or even to their own diocesan or his vicar, he has humbly made supplication that he and his accomplices may be mercifully dealt with by that Seat. We, therefore, who rejoice to succour the faithful in Christ, by the authority of the Lord Pope, whose penitentiary we are, and, indeed, are the utterance of his living voice, commit the matter to your discretion, that, if it is, as has been stated, you may, after the said Robert and his accomplices have made proper satisfaction to the aforesaid Church, absolve him and them for this occasion from the excommunication which they have incurred for this thing, and from the charge of slaying that layman, according to the customary form of the Church, and after having heard with care their confession and considered their fault, you may appoint them, by the said authority, salutary penance and those other things which are commanded by law. Given at Picenum, tenth kalends of August, and the third year of the pontificate of Clement the Fifth."—Goodall, Fordun, ii. 231.

Unfortunately for the genuineness of this document, it is unknown outside of Fordun. Further, the original sentence of excommunication against the Bruce was revived by Clement's successor, John XXII., and at no time during the Wars of Independence did Scotland or its King receive any favour from the Papal Court. In short, the whole of Fordun's story bears very much the appearance of a myth. However, if the penitential ceremony suggested by the document ever took place, it is not unlikely, but in every way probable, that it was performed at Paisley amid the blackened ruins of the abbey.

On July 16, 1309, two years and nine days after the death of Edward I., at Burgh-on-Sands, died James the Steward, who, according to a prevalent belief, was buried in the abbey church. He was succeeded by his son, Walter, a lad in his teens.

On October 15, 1310, Edward II. had penetrated to Renfrew,[1] burning and wasting the country. Whether he visited Paisley and its abbey there is no record. The only reference in the Register at this period is regarding the settlement in 1313 of a dispute which the abbot and convent had with one John Pride, a burgess of Renfrew, the nature of which is not stated.[2] In the following year came the battle of Bannockburn. Walter the Steward was there, and though only in his twenty-first year, was given the command of a division of the Scottish army, and is mentioned by Barbour in his graphic description of the battle:—

> "Walter Stewart of Scotland syne
> That then was but a beardless hyne,
> Cam with a rout of noble men
> That micht be countenance be ken."

Through his bravery on this occasion, he won the friendship of the King, and in the following year, when Robert's Queen and daughter, Marjory, were returning from captivity in England, he was sent to receive them as they entered Scotland. In the next year Marjory became his wife, and

[1] Bain's Cal. of Docs. rel. to Scot., iii. 32.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 376.

brought him as her dowry the barony of Bathgate and other valuable possessions. Their wedded life lasted only a year. Marjory died and was buried in the church of Paisley abbey, where "a faire monument" was erected over her grave by Walter.

There is some mystery about her death, and the date of it is quite uncertain, being set down at any time during the years 1315 and 1317. The story of her death, as it has been handed down, is as follows: Out hunting in the country between Renfrew and Paisley, as her horse struggled in a piece of marshy ground near the Knock, where Somerled was defeated and slain, she was thrown, and being seized with the pangs of labour, died on the spot. The child was saved by the Cæsarean operation, but was accidentally injured in the eye by the operator, on which account he was called King Blear-Eye and his mother Queen Blear-Eye, though she was never Queen. In commemoration of the event, a cross, called Queen Blearie's Cross, was erected where she fell.[1] The story does not appear to have been known to Balfour. By Hailes it is rejected. There may be some truth in it, or it may be purely legendary. What is certain is that, until comparatively recent times, a cross existed at the Knock and was known as Queen Blearie's Cross.

From the Register of the monastery we learn that, besides causing a monument to be erected in her memory, Walter caused prayers to be said in the abbey church for the repose of her soul, and that "inspired by love and for the salvation of my own soul and the soul of Marjory, formerly my wife, and for the salvation of my ancestors and all the faithful departed," he gave to the monastery the church of Largs, in Ayrshire, with all the tithes and property belonging to it of every kind.[2] The gift, however, was not to take effect until the death or resignation of Sir William de Lindsay, the rector of the benefice. Lindsay resigned on his promotion to the archdeaconry of St. Andrews, February 3, 1318.[3] Wishart,

[1] Hamilton, Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew, 146.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 237. [3] Reg. de Pas., 238.

the patriotic bishop of Glasgow, was then dead, and the see was vacant, and the chapter of the cathedral, remembering the trouble they had had with the abbey respecting its churches, instituted the monks in the benefice only on condition that they maintained in it a vicar with a yearly stipend of seventeen merks sterling, six acres of land and four wagons of hay, paid the episcopal procurations, and provided wax for light in the church.[1]

During the few years Walter survived his wife he was constantly employed in the service of his country. When Bruce passed over into Ireland, he was appointed one of the two Governors of the kingdom, and, in 1318, when the Scots succeeded in wresting out of the hands of the English the town of Berwick, then the most important seaport in the the two kingdoms, he was entrusted by the King with the keeping of it. Assisted by Crab, the Flemish engineer, and some five hundred gentlemen who came to his help, he held it against the whole power of Edward. Four years later, he accompanied the King on his daring raid into England, and when Edward fled precipitately from Biland abbey, near Malton, in Yorkshire, the Steward, at the head of five hundred men, pursued him so closely that it was only with difficulty that he succeeded in taking refuge in the city of York.[2] The Steward was one of the signatories of the spirited letter which the Scottish nobles sent to the Pope, in which they described the unjust aggression of Edward I., and complained, among other things, of the serious injuries the Church had suffered in consequence. But he appears to have had no hand in bringing about the reconciliation of the Pope to the Scottish King. The negotiations which led to that were carried on, not by him, as has been alleged, but by Randolph, the King's nephew. He died at Bathgate, April 9, 1326, and was buried at Paisley, beside his wife, Marjory. Barbour, in his *Brus*, tells of the intense sorrow which the Steward's death caused throughout the kingdom.

[1] Reg. de Pas., 241. [2] Burton, ii. 290.

"Than mycht men," he says, "heir folk gret and cry,
And mony a knycht and ek lady
Mak in apert richt evill cher;
Sa did thai all that evir thair wer.
All men hym menyt comonly;
For of his elde he wes worthy.
Quhen thai lang tyme thar dule had maid,
The corss to Paslay haf thai had,
And thar, with gret solempnite
And with gret dule, entyrit wes he,
God for his mycht his saull he bring
Quhair joy ay lestis but endyng.—Amen."

—*The Brus*, xix. 215-226.

CHAPTER VI.

ROBERT THE STEWARD.

The closing years of the Bruce's reign were comparatively peaceful, and the country began to recover itself. At Paisley the monks began to set their house in order, and to reinstate themselves in their former prosperity. Their fortunes had sunk very low, and the task of repairing them was hard. Happily they were not without sympathisers, and the prayers which they addressed to the faithful for assistance, met with a generous response.

Shortly before the death of King Robert, Abbot Roger had been succeeded by Abbot John, and the first mention we have of the new abbot is in connection with an act of charity done on behalf of the impoverished brethren by the bishop of Argyll.[1] In 1327, "Brother Andrew, minister of the church of Argyll," as the bishop styled himself, commiserating the common table of the monks, "which was not sufficient for their maintenance and to enable them to respond to the calls of hospitality, and the onerous duties incumbent upon them as the law of charity demands," and in answer to their earnest prayers, gave the monks, with the consent of his chapter, the rectorial tithes and dues of the three churches of Kilkeran, Kilfinan and Kilcolmanel. The donation was given for the maintenance of the common table of the monks and was of considerable value, being burdened only with the maintenance of a vicar in each of the churches.

A similar gift was received from John Lindsay, bishop of Glasgow, in connection with the church at Largs, recently bestowed upon the monks by Walter the Steward. When

[1] Reg. de Pas., 137.

the church was conveyed to them, the chapter of Glasgow, it will be remembered, obliged the monks to place a vicar in it, whose stipend they fixed, and laid other burdens upon the Steward's gift.[1] Bishop Lindsay, "in consideration," as his charter bears, "of the great damage the monastery of Paisley had sustained by reason of the dreadful war so long waged between the kingdoms of England and Scotland," and for the rebuilding of the fabric of the church burned during the said war," now relieved the monks from all the burdens in connection with the church at Largs, with the exception of his own fees, and gave and confirmed to them the church with its chapel of Cumbrae and all their dues both great and small, and allowed them to hold the benefice without presenting a vicar, provided they served it by priests removable at pleasure, and responsible to him for the discharge of their duties.[2]

In 1330, a gift of still greater value reached the monastery, and under the circumstances must have been particularly gratifying to the abbot and his monks. Their Dumbartonshire property, as we have seen, had on more than one occasion been a source of anxiety and trouble, but in the year mentioned, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, gave them a new charter, in which their right to the property was placed beyond dispute. All the contested lands—Cochmanach, Edinbernan, Baccan, etc.—are enumerated in his charter, together with all the churches, rights, and fishings, mentioned in their previous charters, and are all inalienably confirmed to them. And in order that they might hold them more securely, and be able to defend them more effectually against the depredations of the wild Celts on the border, than was possible by merely invoking the ban of the Church, the Earl authorized the abbot and convent to hold courts of life and members and escheat at the death of a man in all the lands he had secured to them. The only restriction he placed upon them in the exercise of these large powers was, that malefactors doomed to death in the abbot's

[1] Reg. de Pas., 241. [2] Reg. de Pas., 238.

courts should pay the penalty at his own gallows of Lennox.[1]

Just before Malcolm's charter was received, a document of a different kind had reached the abbey. It was in the shape of a missive from the Pope, and illustrates what history has to tell regarding barratry or the buying of benefices at Rome—a practice then prevalent and a source of much evil in the Church. Robert de Caral, one of the secular clergy of St. Andrews, had purchased from the Pope a benefice of the yearly value of twenty silver merks if accompanied by a cure of souls, and of ten if not so accompanied. And by the missive referred to, the abbot and convent were directed, on the first vacancy occurring in their churches, to give Caral the benefice he desired and for which he had paid. Whether they did so does not appear; but the probability is they did. The Pope had appointed a commission to see that the abbot and convent carried out his bargain with Caral. Besides, the abbot was desirous of obtaining the honour of wearing the mitre and the ring, and at the time of Caral's barratry he may have been negotiating about it. Anyhow, in August, 1334, Benedict XII., who was then at Avignon, issued a bull by which he gave the abbot permission to wear the coveted insignia, and to bestow the accustomed benediction after masses, vespers, and matins in his monastery and in all priories and in other places belonging to it, as well as in all parochial and other churches under his jurisdiction, provided always that no bishop or legate of the Apostolic See was present.[2] Hitherto the abbot had been distinguished only by his crosier, or pastoral staff, now he could take his place among the greatest abbots in the land.

But great as this honour was, it would be received by the abbot and his monks in the midst of great anxiety. War had again broken out, and England had once more put forth its claim to the sovereignty of Scotland. In 1332, the battle of Dupplin had been fought and Edward Balliol had been crowned at Scone as Edward I. In the following year came

[1] Reg. de Pas., 205.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 429.

the battle of Halidon Hill, and at Christmas, about the time that the abbot received the Pope's letter authorizing him to wear the insignia he desired, Balliol was holding high court and festival in the castle at Renfrew.[1] Two years later (1336), the abbot had to forfeit the fruits[2] of his church at Legerwood[3] *per rebellionem*, and, soon after, the church itself. The "rebellion" and the fighting lasted for twenty-three years, during which the country suffered untold miseries.

Robert the Steward, son of Walter and Marjory, was little more than a boy when the war broke out, but he bore himself in a manner worthy of the best traditions of his house. "He was a comely youth," says Fordun, "tall and robust, affable and modest, liberal, gay and honest, and for the innate sweetness of his disposition generally beloved by all true-hearted Scotsmen."[4] After the defeat at Halidon Hill, in 1333, where he led a division of the Scottish army, though he was then but sixteen or seventeen years of age, he escaped to Bute. His estates were conferred by Edward Balliol on David Hastings, the English Earl of Atholl, and at Christmas, 1334, as we have seen, Balliol was holding court and festival at his ancestral castle of Renfrew. While lying concealed in Bute, the young Steward organised a plan of escape, which he soon put into execution. Gibson and Heriot, two old vassals of his family, brought a boat to Rothesay late one evening. The Steward, accompanied only by a chamber boy and two old servants, threw himself into it, and, under cover of darkness, was rowed over to Inverkip, where horses were waiting for him. He at once mounted and rode west to Overtumnock, probably the West Ferry in the parish of Erskine, and crossed over to Dumbarton, where he was joyfully received by Malcolm Fleming, the governor of the castle. Here he assembled his vassals, and, with the assistance of Campbell of Lochow, assaulted and took Dunoon castle.

[1] Wyntoun, ii. 407 (Historians of Scotland Series).

[2] They were valued at £4 13s. 4d.

[3] Bain, Cal. Docs. rel. to Scot., iii. 326.

[4] Goodall, Fordun, ii. 316.

Soon after, he was joined by Thomas Bruce, Randolph Earl of Moray, and William de Carruthers. Strengthened by these, he in a short time reduced the lower division of Clydesdale, compelled the English governor of Ayr to acknowledge King David Bruce, and drove the adherents of Balliol and Edward from the districts of Renfrew, Carrick, and Cunningham. In 1334, he was appointed joint-Regent with Randolph Earl of Moray; and when, in the following year, the Earl was taken prisoner and shut up in the strong castle of Bamborough, he was continued in the office, with Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell as his colleague. On the death of Sir Andrew, in 1338, he was appointed sole Regent of the kingdom.

His first act on being appointed sole Regent was to appeal to France for assistance. He then gathered a force, and suddenly appeared before Perth, which, after a brief defence, was surrendered by Sir Thomas Ughtred, on August 27, 1339. During the short truce which was arranged on September 25 of the following year, he seized the opportunity to make a progress through the country for the re-establishment of order and the administration of justice. In the beginning of 1340, war suddenly broke out again, and, on April 16, Edinburgh, which was held by Sir Thomas Rokeby for the English, surrendered.[1] By this time, chiefly through the exertions of the Steward, assisted by Sir William Douglas and Sir Alexander Ramsay, the greater part of the country had been won back from the English. The only places remaining in their hands were the castles of Stirling, Roxburgh, Lochmaben, and Jedburgh, with a few small strengths in their neighbourhood;[2] and the country being considered sufficiently cleared of its enemies to render the return of the King safe, an embassy was despatched to France, whither the young King had retired on the outbreak of hostilities, to request him to return to his kingdom.

When David landed at Inverbervie, June 2, 1341, the Steward laid down his office as Regent, and, notwithstanding

[1] Bain, iii. xlix. [2] Bain, iii. l.

the coldness of the King towards him, was one of his strongest supporters. Through his intercession, the Knight of Liddesdale was pardoned for the brutal murder of Ramsay of Dalwolsey and reconciled to the King. After the unfortunate battle of Neville's Cross, in 1346, where David was again taken prisoner, the Steward was for the second time appointed Regent. During the next eleven years he successfully held the kingdom against the English. The King was ransomed in 1347, when one of the hostages given for the payment of his ransom (100,000 merks) was the Steward's eldest son. By the King, the Steward was treated with suspicion. He is thought to have resented the Steward's retreat at the battle of Neville's Cross as a desertion, and was, perhaps, "naturally jealous of him" as the heir to the crown. Anyhow, he attempted to alter the succession. In the Parliament held at Scone, in 1364, he proposed to set aside the arrangement made in December, 1318, by which it was provided that, in the event of his dying without male issue, the crown should descend to the Steward as the son of Walter and Marjory Bruce, and urged the appointment of Lionel, third son of Edward III. of England, as his successor. To these proposals Parliament bluntly and decisively refused to assent.

The feud between the Steward and the King continued to smoulder. There was ill-will also between the Steward and the new Queen, Margaret Logie. He was suspected, too, of being in league with his son-in-law, John Lord of the Isles, whose insubordination was causing David great trouble. In 1368, John was in open rebellion, and the task of subduing him was assigned to the Steward. In January of the following year, 1369, the Steward and his son, the Wolf of Badenoch, were imprisoned in Loch Leven castle, but for what reason is not clear. After a short imprisonment, they were liberated, and on the death of David, February 22, 1370, the Steward ascended the throne as Robert II.

During the reign of David II., there is little to record in the affairs of the town and abbey of Paisley, beyond what has already been mentioned. In 1364 Abbot John died, and

the mitre he had solicited and obtained from Benedict XII. descended to Abbot James. Affairs of state prevented the Steward from paying much attention to the abbey; nevertheless he did not neglect it. He bestowed upon it no great gifts, like his ancestors; but he granted the abbot and convent a new charter of confirmation, in which is a brief summary of the monastery's possessions in the baronies of Renfrew and Kyle.[1] The date of the charter is 1367. In the same year, he intervened in the controversy respecting the Sempringham pension, and directed the monks to appropriate it to their own use.[2]

In another matter the abbot and convent had to appeal to the conservators of the privileges of the Order of Clugny, whom the Pope had appointed for Scotland. In 1351, Martin, bishop of Argyll, under the pretext that the churches of Kilkeran, Kilfinan, and Kilcolmanel, were in need of repairs, seized the revenues from these churches which his predecessor, who styled himself "Brother Andrew, minister of Argyll," had given the convent for the supply of their common table and to help them in their poverty. Expostulation with Lord Martin was useless, and unwilling to part with the revenues which Brother Andrew had given them, the abbot and his monks appealed to the conservators, the abbots of Dunfermline and Newbattle.

Taking into consideration the distance at which Lord Martin resided, and desirous of saving both parties expense, the conservators delegated their powers to John Penny, subdean, and Nigel de Carruthers, Malcolm Kennedy, and Henry de Mundaville, canons, of Glasgow, and authorized them to hear and determine the case.[3] Accordingly they cited the contending parties before them, but Lord Martin, resting in his palace at Lismore, paid no attention to their summons. At last he paid a visit to Glasgow, and his presence there becoming known to the commissioners, they cited him before them again. This citation he treated with the same contempt as those he had already received, and without troubling

[1] Reg. de Pas., 67. [2] Reg. de Pas., 32. [3] Reg. de Pas., 140.

himself in the least about it, returned to Argyllshire, leaving the commissioners to do what they liked. Whereupon they issued a manifesto to all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons and other ecclesiastics in the dioceses of Argyll and Sodor, in which they stated that they had summoned the venerable father in Christ, Lord Martin, at the instance and petition of the abbot and convent of Paisley, to appear before them on May 30, that he had not appeared before them, though on that day and for many days previous, he had been present in the city of Glasgow, but had contumaciously absented himself, and that they had therefore judged him contumacious, and suspended him from pontificals.[1] At the same time they commanded Sir Richard Daurog, Walter Rewl, and Thomas Arthurlie—rectors and vicars of Kirkmichael, Erskine, and Dalziel—under pain of the greater excommunication, within three days after the receipt of their mandate, to take witnesses with them, and going personally into the presence of the said Lord Bishop of Argyll, to announce publicly that that prelate, because of his contumacy, was suspended, by the Apostolic authority they possessed, from all pontificals. Further, they were to cite him before them, the commissioners, in the cathedral church of Glasgow, according to the form of the first citation, on the 14th day of June, to answer to the abbot and convent of Paisley or their procurators for the loss and injury stated in the first summons.[2] The bishop now took the alarm. Travelling hot foot he arrived in Glasgow five days before the day fixed for the meeting of the court, and entered into a formal agreement with the commissioners, by which he yielded to the abbot and convent all they desired, and undertook to publish the agreement and to have it explained to the people of the several churches in question in their mother tongue, either when they were specially assembled for the purpose, or when they were otherwise met together.[3]

[1] Certain rites, some of which can be performed only by bishops, and others only by priests specially empowered by the bishop.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 144. [3] Reg. de Pas., 145.

The date of the indenture is June 9, 1362. The dispute, which was thus finally settled, had lasted over a period of more than ten years. That the bishop made known his defeat as he undertook to do, is not certain, and in the absence of documentary evidence, to say that he did might be incorrect.

CHAPTER VII.

A NEW ERA.

With the accession of the first of the Stuart Kings, a new era began in the history both of the town and of the abbey. Freed from the presence of the invader, trade and commerce revived, and a time of prosperity set in all over the country. The abbey received no great gifts either in lands or in churches, but it enjoyed the royal favour and was fortunate in having an almost unbroken succession of able abbots.

Certain grants from the Crown contributed not a little to the prosperity both of the town and of the abbey. In 1381, Robert II. erected the lands belonging to the monks in Dumbartonshire into a regality. His son, Robert III., did the same, in 1396, for their lands in the barony of Renfrew, in Kyle Stewart, and in the counties of Roxburgh and Peebles. Two years later, he took the abbot and convent, their men and lands and all their possessions, under his special protection, forbade anyone to annoy them, granted them exemption from distraint for debt, unless the debts were their own proper debts, and confirmed to them all their endowments, both ancient and modern. James II. went further. By a charter granted in January, 1451, he united the two regalities into one, and, in connection with the Lennox regality, granted the four points of the Crown, which in the charter of Robert II. had been specially reserved. At the same time, he gave the abbot another charter, to which reference will be made further on.

The grant of regality was no small honour and of no small value. "It took as much out of the Crown as the Sovereign could give," and invested the grantee in something like the sovereignty of the territory to which it referred. It conveyed, among other privileges, the right to hold courts, levy fines, punish thieves, and to have a pit and gallows.

By the regality charter of Robert III., Paisley was made the capital of a little kingdom, the borders of which were widely extended by the charter of James II. By the charter of James, again, Paisley was made the business centre of the entire regality. The importance of this for the town is obvious. The courts of the abbot's bailie and justiciary were at once set up in it and held at stated intervals, or whenever required; men were continually arriving and departing on the business of the regality or of the monastery; merchants, lawyers, and doctors were attracted to the place, and all kinds of trade and commerce received an impetus. By and by, too, the town became a favourite resort for pilgrims, and, as we shall see, was honoured from time to time with visits of royalty. In short, immediately after receiving the charter of regality which was granted by James II., the town entered upon a career of prosperity, which, with one or two interruptions, it has since maintained.

But to return to the abbey. When the Stuart dynasty ascended the throne, the head of the monastery was the same John who had vanquished Lord Martin, bishop of Argyll. He had been succeeded by James, who had been succeeded by John II. As the official visitor, the abbot of Paisley had the right to visit, and, if necessary, reform the daughter house of Crosraguel. For some time affairs there had been in great disorder, and immediately after the accession of Robert II., when the times were quiet and his hands were less encumbered with the affairs of his own house at Paisley, John II. resolved to visit the monks of Crosraguel, and to introduce among them a strict observance of the Rule of their Order.

Accordingly, in the month of September, 1370, he issued a mandate to Roger, the abbot of Crosraguel, directing him to warn his monks, whether within or without the monastery, to appear before him at Crosraguel on the Wednesday before the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, at the hour of chapter,[1]

[1] The daily chapter was celebrated after prime and before the monks separated to their labours. The hour at which it assembled varied with the seasons of the year.

there "to hear and do those things which are known to pertain to our office." Roger was cited to appear along with his monks, and at the appointed hour they were all convened together in the chapter house to receive the visitor. It is probable that the two abbots had had a preliminary meeting at which they had settled what was to follow. But, whether or not, after the mandate had been read in full chapter, "the said Lord Roger of the monastery of Crosraguel," to quote the words of Nicholas de Burn, the notary who was present for official purposes, "without force, fraud, or circumvention, as it appeared to me, did, in the presence of his convent, resign all the dignity and honour of the station of abbot of the monastery of Crosraguel, which he had until then governed, into the hands of the Lord Abbot of Paisley of his own free will, purely and simply, without the addition of any condition whatsoever." Asked as to the reason of his resignation, he replied that, "burdened with old age and infirmity, he was so constantly vexed with bodily weakness that he was not able to rule the flock committed to him by God, nor their lands and possessions and other temporal goods, to their benefit, as is incumbent on the office of a good pastor; for," he added, "he would rather henceforth give up the abbatic honour than under the name of pastor scatter the desolate flock to be devoured by the rapacious wolf." Abbot John appears to have been satisfied with the reason; he accepted the resignation, and released Roger altogether from the office of abbot of Crosraguel. He then directed the monks to fix among themselves a day on which to elect a new abbot, "in order," he added, "that this church may not long be deprived of a pastor in things spiritual nor suffer loss in things temporal." [1]

Meantime the forty merks of pension payable to the Master of Sempringham for Dalmulin had again become the occasion of trouble. It will be remembered that when at Berwick, in 1296, swearing fealty to Edward I. and signing the Ragman Roll, Walter, who was then abbot of the monastery, was

[1] Reg. de Pas., 422, 424, 425.

sharply reminded that the pension was in arrears, and that in a document, witnessed by the English King, he undertook for himself and his convent to pay the money in future punctually. For some reason or other, purposely or otherwise, the pension again fell into arrears, and the Master of Sempringham, willing to part with a doubtful payment for one that was sure, sold the pension to Sir Reginald More, a Scotsman.[1] The fight over the pension then began in earnest. In 1328, More summoned the abbot and convent before the bishop's court in Glasgow. They were represented there by the prior, Andrew de Kelkou or Kelso, who frankly admitted that the pension was owing from the time when peace was declared between England and Scotland; but as Sir Reginald was unable to produce a mandate from Sempringham authorizing him to settle as to the arrears, the court did not at the time proceed further, and Sir Reginald and the prior agreed to appoint two arbitrators a piece, who were to meet on a certain day at Berwick and there settle the whole question of the arrears. It was provided also that in the event of the arbitrators—James, bishop of St. Andrews, and Sir Robert de Lawdyr, justiciar of Lothian, for Sir Reginald, and Lord James Douglas and Alexander Meynes for the monastery—not agreeing, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, should act as oversman.[2] Nothing seems to have come of the arrangement. The abbot refused to pay the pension until Sir Reginald produced his authority from Sempringham. This he promised to do, and placed in the hands of Robert the Steward, the titles of all his lands in Kyle and Cowal, and undertook to forfeit both lands and titles if he failed to fulfil the promise. Apparently he did fail; for in 1367 the

[1] He was Great Chamberlain of Scotland from 1329 to 1333, and again from 1334 to April 13, 1340. By May 21, 1340, he was dead.—Burnett, Exchequer Rolls, i. cxxiii-iv. He was probably a scion of the house of Rowallan, and was greatly in favour with Robert Bruce, from whom he received gifts and charters. Abercorn and other estates he acquired by marriage. Crown lands were also bestowed upon him by David II.—Burnet, ii. cl.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 27.

abbot demanded that the lands of which the Steward held the titles, together with the titles, should be handed over to him and his convent for their own use, in terms of Sir Reginald's promise, and as compensation for the pension which, as they held, had for a number of years been extorted from them. The Steward appears to have had no alternative, and at the same time that he transferred the lands and titles to the abbot and convent, he issued a document which must have come as a surprise to Sir William More, who in the meantime had succeeded his father Sir Reginald, as well as to the Master of Sempringham.

In this document the Steward, Robert Earl of Strathearn, after narrating the history of the foundation of the abbey of Paisley, goes on to say: "A certain abbot of the monastery [of Paisley], induced we know not by what spirit, without liberty, consent or authority from any Superior, Ecclesiastical or Secular, presumed to make what by law he had no power to make, an immense bequest or alienation of forty merks sterling of an annual pension, for no use, no compulsion of necessity, and for no reason, to the canons and nuns of Sempringham, in England, which there is no doubt has led to the lessening of divine worship, to the no small detriment and loss of the said monastery, to the peril of needy souls and to our own loss and prejudice." He then, as special patron and defender of the monastery, proceeds to declare the bequest null and void, forbids the abbot and convent to pay the pension, and directs them to apply both the annual pension and the lands of Sir Reginald More to their own uses.[1]

Sir William More, who, by this time, as already said, had succeeded his father Sir Reginald, was by no means disposed to part with what he regarded as part of his patrimony without an effort. Shortly after the issue of the Steward's document, he made a raid upon the monks, plundered their lands, lifted their cattle, penetrated within the monastery, breaking doors and windows, striking the men and servants

[1] Reg. de Pas., 29.

of the convent who opposed him, and wounded a man in the village of Paisley.[1]

In his distress the abbot could only appeal to the conservators of the privileges of his Order in Scotland. These summoned Sir William before them to answer for his doings, but he appears to have held out against them, and it was not until the time of Abbot John that the controversy was finally settled. Robert the Steward was now King, and had been succeeded in the High Stewardship by his son John, who intervened in the affair. Through his influence the question in dispute was referred by both parties to a number of arbitrators, both lay and cleric, who met in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and, on April 24, 1373, finally drew up an agreement which was accepted by both parties. According to this, the abbot and convent agreed to pay Sir William More the sum of three hundred merks in three instalments, and to restore to him all the lands which the Steward had handed over to them with the titles; and Sir William undertook, on his part, to give the abbot all the documents on which he based his claim to the pension, and became bound to see that the canons and nuns of Sempringham should not, in all time coming, make any charge for the pension against the brethren in Paisley.[2] The sum to be paid to the knight of Abercorn was large, and the convent may have had some difficulty in raising it, but the bargain was a good one for the monastery. It removed a burden which had been lightly assumed, and was never cheerfully borne.

It was some years after this vexed question of the Sempringham pension had been finally settled, that Robert II. erected the Dumbartonshire estates of the monks into a free barony and regality. The date of the charter is October 20, 1381. While erecting the lands into a regality, the charter confirms to the monks the lands and churches which Malcolm Earl of Lennox had confirmed to them in the year 1330. As usual in gifts of regality at this time the four points of the Crown were specially reserved. The effect of this was to

[1] Reg. de Pas., 40.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 43, 46, 47.

exclude from the jurisdiction of the courts of regality which were about to be erected in virtue of the King's charter, on the Lennox estates of the monks, all cases of rapine, rape, arson, and murder, and to require any of the dwellers within the regality who were accused of these crimes, to be sent for trial before the courts of the King. In return for his charter, the King imposed upon the monks an annual payment of five chalders of wheaten flour for the sustentation of the watchers of the castle of Dumbarton.[1]

In 1384, Abbot John was dead, and we meet with a new abbot, called John de Lithgow, probably in order to distinguish him from his predecessor, who is simply named John. Lithgow is the only abbot whose name appears on the monastic buildings. He ruled the monastery, either alone or with a coadjutor, for close on fifty years, and until enfeebled by old age, ruled it well.

At the beginning of his incumbency, John de Lithgow had to resist an attempted encroachment upon the privileges of his Order by Walter, bishop of Glasgow. Upon his election the bishop summoned him to have his election confirmed by himself as the bishop of the diocese, and to receive his episcopal benediction. The abbot went elsewhere for the benediction, and the bishop complained to the King. The King, with whom were his two sons, John the Steward and Robert Earl of Fife, heard the case at Dumbarton, on June 2, 1384. After the argument of the bishop, Lithgow pled the privileges of his Order, maintaining that he and his convent were exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction by special privileges granted to the whole Order of Clugny by the Pope. No judgment[2] was pronounced, but in consideration that the bishop had been appointed ambassador on difficult business of the King and kingdom in distant parts, it was resolved, the bishop and the abbot consenting, that the case should remain *in statu quo* without prejudice to either party until the bishop's return. The bishop was the eminent statesman and scholar, Walter Wardlaw, who was afterwards raised to

[1] Reg. de Pas., 206. [2] Reg. de Pas., 330.

the cardinalate by Pope Clement, in 1385. The business on which he was sent was the negotiation of peace with England at Boulogne-sur-Mer. He succeeded in this much better than he could ever have expected to succeed in his case against Lithgow. Lithgow had the whole Order of Clugny behind him, the authority of Papal bulls, and the favour of the King; and the case Wardlaw brought against him was apparently dropped.

While the abbot and convent were still congratulating themselves on their success against Walter, bishop of Glasgow, news reached them that one of their monks had been brutally and horribly mutilated by John of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire. Whether the deed was premeditated or unprovoked, or what provocation, if any, had been given, is not known. The laird of Auchinleck had to pay heavily for the crime. He was fined in an annual rental of twenty shillings sterling, payable half-yearly, at Whitsunday and Martinmas, to the monks at Paisley, and had to give security that the rental would continue to be paid in all time coming by his heirs and successors.[1] The charter conveying the "gift," as it is termed, is dated July 17, 1385, and was confirmed by his son and heir, February 10, 1404.[2]

In 1390, the sum of thirty pounds sterling was paid out of the royal exchequer, by order of the King, for glass for the abbey.[3] One of the last acts of the King was to procure permission from the Pope for the abbot and convent to use the revenues of the church at Largs and of the chapel of Cumbrae, in terms of the grant made to them some years before by John, bishop of Glasgow;[4] that is, for the restoration of the monastic buildings destroyed during the Wars of Independence. In the bull granted, the Pope, Clement VII., expressly states that the permission is given "in consideration of his most dear son in Christ, Robert, the illustrious King of Scotland, whose predecessors founded the abbey."[5] This

[1] Reg. de Pas., 359. [2] Reg. de Pas., 361. [3] Burnett, iii. 222.

[4] Reg. de Pas., 237. The date of the charter is somewhere between the years 1325 and 1335. [5] Reg. de Pas. 241.

was in the year 1387. Three years later, May 13, 1390, the King died at Dundonald castle, in Ayrshire, after a short illness, at the age of eighty-four. For some reason he was buried, not at Paisley beside his wives, Elizabeth Mure and Euphan Ross, but at Scone. After the fashion of the times, he had prepared his own tombstone. It was sculptured by Master Nicholas Haen, the King's mason, and further decorated by Andrew, the painter. For some time it was deposited for safe keeping in the church of S. John, Perth, and was carried from thence to Scone for the interment.[1]

John, his eldest son, who ascended the throne as Robert III., had already shown his favour for the monastery on the White Cart, and soon after his accession gave the abbot and his monks a still further proof of his favour. In April, 1396, he did for the rest of their estates what his father had done for their estates in the Lennox. He erected them into a free regality, but, unlike his father, he did not reserve from the monks in their new regality the four points of the Crown, nor did he impose upon them any yearly payment; the only *reddendo* he required from them for his gift was the suffrages of their prayers in perpetuity.[2] Two years later, September 11, 1398, he took the monks, their men, and the whole of their possessions under his own special protection, granted them exemption from distraint for debts, unless the debts were their own proper debts, and straitly charged all sheriffs, bailies, and others to see that the monks were paid whatever was legally owing to them.[3] By another charter, under date April 6, 1396, he had already confirmed to them all the donations they had received, of whatever kind, both ancient and modern.[4]

The modern gifts to the monastery were not numerous, and as at this time we come across almost the last of them, it may be as well to enumerate them here.

At the feast of the Assumption (August 15), 1390, Adam Fullarton, knight, lord of Crosseby, bestowed upon the monastery forty silver pennies.[5] The same year, on

[1] Burnett, iii. lxxii. [2] Reg. de Pas., 91. [3] Reg. de Pas., 96.
[4] Reg. de Pas., 97. [5] Reg. de Pas., 363.

December 11, John Blair of Adamton gave the monks liberty to convey water to their mill at Monkton, in Ayrshire, by an ancient lead running through the lands of Adamton.[1] In 1397, the same John Blair gave the monastery the sum of forty pounds yearly, and bound his heirs and successors to pay the same in perpetuity under pain of forfeiture of their lands and goods to the same amount.[2] In 1399, Hugh Boyl of Ryseholm,[3] and in 1432, John Kelso, laird of Kelsoland,[4] gave half a stone of wax apiece to the abbey, on condition that they and their wives should be received into the participation of the brotherhood and be made partakers of the prayers of the whole Order of Clugny. From Robert Portar of Portarfield came, on May 10, 1399, the gift of an annual rent of sixteen pennies for himself. At the same time he confirmed a donation by his father of twelve pennies from a burgage in the burgh of Renfrew.[5] Following these, on January 5, 1403, came from John de Kelso, son of the laird of Kelsoland, the donation of the land commonly known as Langlebank, in the parish of Largs.[6] On March 31 in the same year, the monks were gladdened by a donation which could hardly fail to remind them of the rich gifts their house was wont to receive in days gone by. On that day, Sir Hugh Wallace, a descendant of the patriot and one of the King's esquires, with the consent and assent of his brother, William Wallace, gave to the Almighty, the Virgin, SS. James and Mirin of Paisley, and the monks serving God there, the ten merk land of Thornley, lying within the barony of Renfrew and the county of Lanark.[7] This was the last gift the convent received. The last, it was also the richest that had come to it for many years.

The confirmation of this gift was the King's last act of kindness to the abbey. He executed it at Rothesay castle, April 18, 1404, especially for the salvation of his own soul and for the souls of his children, of all his predecessors and successors Kings of Scotland and of all the faithful dead.[8]

[1] Reg. de Pas., 364. [2] Reg. de Pas., 366. [3] Reg. de Pas., 368.
[4] Reg. de Pas., 369. [5] Reg. de Pas., 374. [6] Reg. de Pas., 244.
[7] Reg. de Pas., 79. [8] Reg. de Pas., 80.

Two years later, April 4, 1406. he died. His eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, had pre-deceased him, having, as is commonly supposed, been done to death in Falkland castle by Robert Duke of Albany and James Douglas Lord of Dalkeith, both of whom witnessed the charter of confirmation just referred to. Robert's younger son, the Earl of Carrick, whom he had resolved to send to France, to be out of the way of Albany and Douglas, was captured on the high seas by an English vessel and carried to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower. When the news of his capture reached the King, he was seated at supper in Rothesay castle, and was inconsolable. "Touched with grief," says the chronicler, "his bodily strength gave way, his countenance paled, and borne down with sorrow, he refused all food, until at last he breathed forth to his Creator."[1] His remains were laid in front of the high altar in the abbey church of Paisley. For centuries the place of his interment remained unmarked. After the destruction of the choir at the Reformation, the rank grass was allowed to grow over it, and it is said that the beadle of the church had actually appropriated the grave of the King as a burial-place for his own family. But in the year 1888, Queen Victoria caused a handsome granite monument to be erected over the royal grave, and thus, it is to be hoped, has secured it from further desecration. The funeral of the King was not sumptuous nor costly. The only entry regarding his interment in the Exchequer Rolls is one of forty shillings which were paid to the abbot of Paisley some eighteen years later by James I., *pro exequiis domini regis defuncti faciendis.*[2]

Meanwhile the restoration of the abbey buildings had been going on. Operations had begun probably soon after the treaty of Northampton in 1328; but, owing to the outbreak of the second War of Independence, they had been suspended. Little would be done during the reign of David II., and it is probable that no serious attempt to carry on the work was made until after the accession of the Stuarts. No systematic

[1] Goodall, Fordun, ii. 440.

[2] Burnett, iii. xcvi.; iv. 391.

account of the restoration is given, and all that we have to go by is a few notes scattered here and there. Under John de Lithgow, it appears that the work was pushed on with vigour. Besides the gifts of King Robert II. and John, bishop of Glasgow, there can be little doubt that some of the others which the monks received about the end of the fourteenth century were destined to the same purpose. The fact that Lithgow chose the north porch of the church as his place of burial has led to the conjecture that his part in the work of the restoration was the north side of the nave of the church. He may have done more. Anyhow, at his death, or soon after it, the church of the abbey had been so far rebuilt that it was ready to receive the triforium, clerestory, and roof.

But, however far the work was carried on at this time, it was not allowed to proceed without distractions. When Robert III. died, the abbot and convent were under the ban of excommunication. As far back as the year 1388, two years before the death of Robert II., Walter de Roule, rector of Tarbolton, had formally excommunicated, interdicted, and suspended them in their own church at Rutherglen, at the instance of Matthew, bishop of Glasgow. It was the old question of episcopal jurisdiction and the payment of procurations that had arisen. The abbot and convent fell back upon their privileges and appealed to their patron, the Pope. The appeal was taken in 1388,[1] but it was not finally disposed of till twenty years later, when Simon de Mundaville, archdeacon of Glasgow, acting with the authority of the Pope, gave judgment in favour of the monks and relieved them from the pains and penalties under which they had been placed.[2]

During this controversy, in which the privileges of their Order had once more been of essential service to the monks, other matters of a more serious character began to emerge in the monastery itself. In the appeal to the Pope, one of the agents of the abbot and convent was William Chisholm, or

[1] Reg. de Pas., 332.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 337, ff.

de Cheshelme, as he is called. What position he held in the monastery at the time the appeal was taken, beyond that he was a monk, does not appear. He seems to have been well skilled in canon law and to have made himself indispensable to the abbot, John de Lithgow. While the controversy with the bishop of Glasgow was going on, the monks were engaged in a dispute with the vicars of their churches, and in this also Chisholm acted as their agent. For some time the abbot and convent had been in the habit of paying to the vicars, in order to eke out their miserable stipends, certain sums of money over and above what they were entitled to by their agreements. These doles the abbot and convent now sought to withdraw, but whether for the purpose of using them to defray the cost of rebuilding the monastery or merely to increase their own comfort, is not precisely clear. The vicars naturally resisted the reduction of their incomes, and as most of the revenues out of which they were paid had to pass through their hands, they could resist with effect. Chisholm, however, was indefatigable, and the monks, probably under his leadership, were resolute. At last the chapter resolved to place the whole business in the hands of Chisholm, and authorized him to keep whatever he could squeeze out of the vicars for his own private use, "notwithstanding any statute or custom of our Order to the contrary." This shameless transaction was set down in writing, and was sealed with the seal of the chapter.[1] This was done in the year 1388, the very year in which the abbot and convent were appealing to "our Lord the Pope" and invoking his assistance against Matthew, bishop of Glasgow.

As time went on, things grew worse in the abbey. The evils which S. Bernard complained of as prevalent in his own day among the Cluniacs on the Continent, were now prevalent among the brethren of the Order in Scotland. Apparently they were accompanied by other and worse evils. Even the Cistercians,[2] S. Bernard's own Order, who had long set an

[1] Reg. de Pas., 334.

[2] Stewart, Records of Kinloss, xl.; Campbell, Balmerino, 224.

example to the older brotherhoods and prided themselves upon their superior piety, had fallen from their first estate, and become worldly-minded and luxurious in their habits, like the rest. But none, it would appear, had backslided so far as the Benedictines and the Augustinians, and in the year of his return from captivity, James I. took the extraordinary step of addressing a letter to the monasteries of these two Orders, in which he exhorted them, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus, to shake off their torpor and sloth, and to set themselves to work to restore their fallen discipline and to rekindle their decaying fervour, in order to save themselves and their houses from the ruin by which they were menaced.[1]

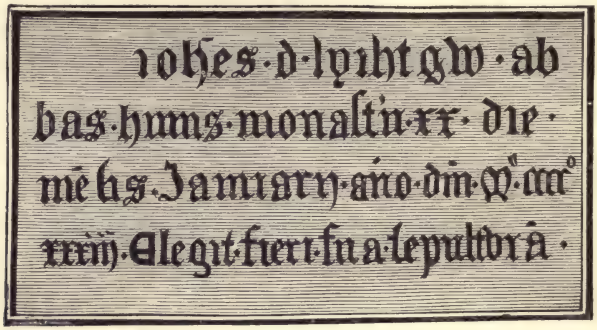
Times had changed since Abbot John of Paisley had set himself to restore order and discipline in the monastery of Crosraguel. Then, Abbot Roger, when he found himself no longer able, through the feebleness of old age, to rule his flock for good, resigned. Abbot John de Lithgow did not. In 1414, he had taken Chisholm for his coadjutor. Chisholm's influence on the spiritual condition of the monastery could scarcely be for good. What happened to him or how his connection with Paisley ceased, is not known.

In 1418, Lithgow had Thomas Morwe for his coadjutor. Morwe seems to have been a statesman rather than a lawyer. He was several times employed on State business, and may have been one of the ecclesiastics who carried out the negotiations by which the liberation of James I. from his English prison was effected.[2]

[1] Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 25; Robertson, Concilia Scot., i. lxxxix.

[2] Morwe is first heard of on July 6, 1418, when a safe conduct was granted to "Thomas, abbot of the monastery of Paisley, with six horsemen in company, coming to England, to the presence of the King's brother, John Duke of Bedford, Guardian of the realm." The safe conduct was to last until August 3 following. In 1419, on August 4, he obtained a safe conduct from Henry V. of England for himself, Nigel Carnders, his chaplain, John Perysshone and a servant, their horses, etc., through the King's dominions of France, England, and elsewhere. This was to last for a year. Another was granted to him to go to England on October 13, 1420, by Henry V., and the same King granted

John de Lithgow died on January 20, 1433. He had ruled the monastery, or at least had been its abbot, during the reigns of three Kings and twelve Popes. He was buried in the porch on the north side of the nave of the abbey church. One of the walls on the inside of the porch bears the following lines :—



[John of Lithgow, Abbot of this Monastery, 20th day of the month of January, year of our Lord 1433, selected to be made his sepulchre.]

In 1440, Morwe was still abbot. In that year he was present at the General Council held by King James II. at Stirling, for the purpose of considering the distracted state of the country.[1] Beyond this nothing is known of him.

The next abbot was Richard de Bodwell or Bothwell. He was appointed in the year 1444, and secured his appointment by paying into the Papal treasury five hundred and ninety florins. Within a year he was promoted to the abbacy of Dunfermline. Thomas Tervas, who had acted as his agent at the Roman court and had paid into the Papal treasury his five hundred and ninety florins, was still in Rome, and on paying over to the Pope's treasurer a considerable sum of

him still another to go to Scotland and back, on April 21, 1421. The second of these two is dated at Westminster, and is to last six weeks. Morwe was allowed to take with him "three servants" and "twelve persons." Bain, Cal. Docs. Scot., iv. 177, 178, 182.

[1] Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 56.

money on his own account, secured the mitre of Paisley for himself.

Tervas was a monk of Arbroath. Notwithstanding the way in which he obtained the mitre, he proved himself one of the best abbots the monastery ever had. When he arrived from Rome, he found the place "all out of gud rewle," "heavily in debt, destitute of leving, and all the kirkis in lordis handis." He began his work by reforming his own monks and by procuring a bull from the Pope by which all the leases of the monastery's lands and property were revoked.[1] Some of the leaseholders threatened resistance. Robert Boyd of Tynwald, who held a lease of certain rents of the Church at Largs, refused to resign his lease, and let it be known that he intended to retain it by force of arms if molested. Tervas appealed to the King, James II., who at once came to his support, and soon brought both the laird of Tynwald and others who were of his way of thinking, to a different mind.[2]

On account of the reformation he had wrought among his monks, Tervas stood high in the favour of the King. It was to him that James II. granted the charter of 1451, by which the charters of regality granted by Robert II. and Robert III. were confirmed, the four points of the Crown which had been reserved in the case of the Lennox regality were conceded, and the whole lands of the abbey were united into a single regality.[3] By another charter, granted in the same year, the King conferred upon the abbot and convent the right of replegiation,[4] the effect of which was that in the event of any of the abbot's men, farmers, or tenants being indicted before the King's courts in the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, the abbot could demand their surrender, in order to their trial in his own courts of regality, provided that the said courts were held immediately after the Lord Chamberlain's; that the Lord Chamberlain or his deputy was called in to act as assessor;

[1] Reg. de Pas., 416. [2] Reg. de Pas., 245. [3] Reg. de Pas., 255.
[4] Reg. de Pas., 257.

and that the accused were tried before an assize of the King's men. The fines levied in these courts the abbot was expressly authorized to retain and to use for the maintenance of the monastic buildings, "in consideration," as the charter bears, "of the good merits of the said Thomas, and for the reformation of the said monastery made by him." Another grant made to the abbot in the same charter wears to modern eyes a somewhat dubious character, though at the time there seems to have been nothing extraordinary about it. It was the right to hold a tavern and sell wines within the gates of the monastery.[1]

Tervas was a great builder, and one of the chief restorers of the monastic buildings. His efforts seem to have been directed mainly to the completion of the church. He built the triforium and clerestory in the nave, put on the roof of the church, "theekit it" with slates, and "riggit it" with stones. He built also a great part of the steeple, glazed most of the windows in the church, erected within it a number of "staitlie stallis," and built "a staitlie yethouss," where the

[1] Reg. de Pas., 258. "Moreover, for the causes above mentioned, we do give and grant for ever, to the officers, ministers, and deputes of the abbot of Paisley, who for the time may be, full powers to have a tavern and to sell wines within the gates of the said monastery, at the will and pleasure of the abbot himself, who may be for the time, without hindrance or disturbance of our lieges whatsoever."—Paisley Charters and Documents, 24. Sixteen years after the Reformation in Scotland, ministers of the Reformed Church were allowed to keep alehouses, in order to eke out their stipends. In the records of the General Assembly, under the year 1576, occurs, amongst others, the following question: "Whether if a minister or reidar may tap aill, bear, or wine, and keep an open tavern." The answer does not prohibit either a minister or a reader from tapping ale, etc., and keeping a tavern, but simply refers to the way in which they should conduct their business as tavern keepers. It is this:—"Ane minister or reider that taps aill, bear, or wine, and keeps an opine taverne sould be exhortit be the Commissioners [of the General Assembly] to keip decorum."—Bk. of the Universal Kirk, i. 378. The privilege granted to Tervas may have been one of distinction, but it is not likely to have been one of great profit—certainly not of such as some have supposed. The ordinary drink at the time was home-brewed ale or beer. The population of the district, too, was insufficient to cause much of a demand for the more expensive drink.

porter and his assistant slept at night and kept watch by day, carefully noting all who approached the gates or passed through the pend.

By the spring of 1453, the rebuilding of the church seems to have been nearing completion. On May 20 in that year, along with George Falowe burgess of Edinburgh, Master Walter Steward of Dalswinton, Master James Inglis canon of Glasgow, and Sir Thomas of Fersitt vicar of Legerwood which was one of the abbey's churches, and seven attendants, Tervas received a safe conduct from Henry VI. of England, to pass through his dominions on a pilgrimage to the "threshold of the Apostles."[1] The safe conduct was to last a year. The party crossed from Dover to Calais, and on their way through France would in all probability call at Clugny to pay their obeisance to the head of the Cluniac Order and to share his splendid hospitality. How long the journey lasted, or when Tervas returned, we do not know; but when he returned he did not come empty handed. "He brocht," says the old chronicler, some of whose words have already been used, "mony gude jewellis and claithis of gold, silver, and silk, and mony gude bukis . . . and the staitliest tabernakle in all Skotland and the maist costlie." All these things Tervas wanted for the furnishing of his church and the adornment of its services. Probably it was chiefly with a view to procuring them that he had made his pilgrimage to the shrines of the apostles. Anyhow, he had gone to the right market, for Italy was then famous for the manufacture of the articles he desired. By the time he returned, if not before, the church of the abbey was quite ready to receive them. And when the stateliest tabernacle and the most costly in all Scotland was placed upon the high altar, and the lectern of brass which he had brought was standing in its place, and the silver chandeliers were hung and lighted, and Tervas and the other celebrants appeared in their new vestments of gold and silver cloth and silk, which he had brought from Italy, and he himself was adorned with one of the best mitres that

[1] Bain, Cal. Docs. rel. to Scotland, iv. 254–5.

was in Scotland, the scene within the church, even if it failed to quicken the devotion of the careless, would at least be brilliant and impressive.

Tervas was present at the General Council held at Edinburgh, October 19, 1456, when he was appointed one of the Lords Auditors of Complaints. This is the last we hear of him in public. He died three years later, on June 29, 1459. He was an energetic and a good man. The contemporary chronicler, whose words have been used above, when recording his death, grows enthusiastic over what he did, and as his notice contains additions to what has just been said, it may be given here in full. "The yer of God MCCCCLIX. the penult day of Junii, decessit Thomas Tervas, abbot of Paisley, the quhilk was ane richt gude man," he says, "and helplyk to the place of ony that ever wes. For he did mony notable thingis and held ane noble houss and was ay wele purvait. He fand the place all out of gude rewle and destitut of leving, and all the kirkis in lordis handis, and the kirk unbiggit. He biggit the body of the kirk fra the bricht stair up, and put on the ruf, and theekit it with sclait and riggit it with stane: And biggit ane gret portioun of the steple and ane staitlie yethouss; and brocht hame mony gud jewellis and claithis of gold, silver, and silk, and mony gude bukis, and maid staitlie stallis and glasynnit mekle of all the kirk; and brocht hame the staitliest tabernakle that was in all Scotland, and the maist costlie. And schortlie, he brocht all the place to fredome and fra nocht till ane michty place, and left it out of all kynd of det and at all fredome till dispone as thaim lykit; and left ane of the best myteris that was in Scotland and chandellaris of silver and ane lettren of brass, with mony uther gud jewellis."[1]

[1] Auchinleck Chronicle, 19.

CHAPTER VIII.

ABBOTS HENRY CRICHTON AND GEORGE SHAW.

Thomas Tervas was succeeded in the abbot's chair by Henry Crichton, who had a stormy beginning to his incumbency. Pope Pius II., in the exercise of his assumed prerogative, had privately decreed that when the abbey of Paisley next fell vacant, all its revenues should fall to himself. Accordingly when the news of the death of Tervas reached him, he appointed Henry Crichton, a monk of Dunfermline, not abbot, but commendator of the abbey of Paisley, and directed him to pay out of the revenues of the abbey an annual pension of 300 florins to Pietro Barlo, cardinal of St. Mark's, Venice, and to account for the remainder to himself. The pension was to be paid punctually. If not paid within thirty days of the appointed time, the penalty to Crichton was to be excommunication; and if not paid within six months, total deprivation was to follow.

At first Crichton held the commendatorship, drew the revenues, paid the pension and accounted for the rest of the revenues as directed. But he was not the man the Pope had imagined. After he had got fairly settled in the abbey, he refused to pay Pietro's pension. The Pope became angry, and directed John, cardinal of S. Lawrence in Damaso,[1] to summon Henry to appear before him in Bruges or elsewhere, and there to deal with him. The cardinal summoned Henry, but Henry paid no heed to his summons, and for three years continued to enjoy the whole income of the abbey. Pius then enjoined the cardinal to take the final step and depose the commendator; but before this could be

[1] "Tituli Sancti Lawrentii *in Damaso*." The church of S. Lawrence in Damaso was one of the titular basilicas of Rome.

done, Pius died. Paul II., his successor, was quite as determined as Pius had been, and Cardinal John being occupied with other affairs, he directed Nicholas, cardinal priest of S. Cecilia, to bring matters to a conclusion. Accordingly the abbacy of Paisley was declared vacant, and Crichton took his place in the monastery as a monk. Patrick Graham, the unfortunate archbishop of St. Andrews, was then appointed to exercise *in commendam* sole jurisdiction in the abbey in things spiritual and things temporal during his lifetime. He was to see that the usual number of monks was maintained, and that the wants of the abbey were sufficiently provided for, and to take care that the rest of the revenues was transmitted to the papal treasury. How the archbishop discharged his duties, the Register does not say, but three years after his appointment Crichton had, by some means, made his peace with Rome, and on February 27, 1469, Pope Paul II. raised him to the full dignity of abbot of Paisley, annulled all the bulls issued against him, and commanded the monks to render him all due obedience.[1]

During the four years of his incumbency as abbot, Crichton proved himself a worthy successor to Thomas Tervas. These four years were years of activity. If Abbot Crichton did not add to the monastic buildings, he did other things which, though less manifest, were in their way quite as useful. He caused the abbey charter chest to be overhauled, and had many old parchments referring to the property and history of the monastery copied and recopied, and then called in a notary public to certify that the copies made were true copies. It was in his day, too, that the Rental Roll of the Abbey, now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, was begun,[2] the value of which for the history of the abbey, and for other purposes, is great. Though not a builder, like Thomas Tervas, one thing for the building of the monastery Abbot Crichton did do. The roof of the abbey church, which, as will be remembered, Tervas "theekit with sclait,"

[1] Lees, Paisley Abbey, 134, Ap. xiv.

[2] There is a transcript of it in the Free Library, Paisley.

he covered with lead from the castle of Bute, which the King had given to him presumably for the purpose.[1]

Abbot Crichton stood high in the esteem of both the King and Parliament, and took part in several important pieces of State business. While the Court waited at Berwick during the negotiations at Newcastle for a truce with England, the abbot was with the King, and was authorized by Parliament to give advice on the subject of the negotiations. He was in Parliament in 1468, and again in 1469. He was there also on May 6, 1471, and on February 17, 1471-2.[2] The following year he was promoted by the King to be abbot of Dunfermline.

His promotion, besides being a piece of favouritism, was illegal. The stir it caused in the kingdom was not abated by the appointment of his successor in Paisley. Legally, the appointment of abbots and heads of religious houses lay with the brethren. The rule had, from time to time, been broken by Kings and Popes, and recently with considerable frequency, and in order to protect the monks in their rights, an Act had been passed in the Scottish Parliament on October 19, 1462, asserting the rights of the monks and clergy to elect their own dignitaries, and declaring all other ecclesiastical appointments, even though made by the Pope, invalid.[3] This was immediately after the death of Abbot Tervas, and while Crichton was defying Pius II. James, however, appears to have forgotten the Act or to have made up his mind to set it aside. Anyhow, when the monks of Dunfermline elected Alexander Thomson to be their abbot, the King annulled the election, appointed Crichton, and got the appointment confirmed by the Pope, thus violating his own law and reinaugurating a system which was fraught with great evils to the Church.

Like the brotherhood at Dunfermline, the monks at Paisley were denied their right to elect their own abbot. The King

[1] Com. Hist. MSS., Rep. III., 389. The deed of gift is dated January 28, 1470.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 91, 93, 98, 102.

[3] Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 83.

set over them one who at the time was not even a monk, but a parish priest—George Shaw, rector of Minto, in Roxburghshire. His father was the laird of Sauchie, in Stirlingshire, and hereditary keeper of Stirling castle. Shaw, like Crichton,[1] was a favourite at Court, and, soon after his appointment to Paisley, the King entrusted him with the education of his second son, the Duke of Ross, for whom the monastery at Paisley was a much safer asylum against the turbulent nobles by whom the King was surrounded, than his father's Court. Shaw was a capable man, and discharged the trust committed to him by the King with fidelity. It was probably due to his influence that the young Prince afterwards chose the Church for his profession—a profession in which he subsequently attained to the dignity of archbishop of St. Andrews.

Abbot Shaw attended to his parliamentary duties with great punctuality. He was present in the Parliament which met in January, 1477-78,[2] when the quarrel broke out between James III. and his nobles. James Shaw, the keeper of Stirling castle and the abbot's brother, played a leading and a dishonourable part in the war that followed. The King

[1] These appointments may possibly be justified by their results; but they were the beginnings of worse things. Leslie, bishop of Ross, after narrating the appointments, goes on to say:—"From this proceidet the first and foul sklander that efter infected monasteries and mounkis throuch al Scotland; quhen secular persones war begun to have place in closteris, and throuch the king's force, in a maner, and his authoritie, began to rule and have dominioun in Religious places, than tha burnt in ambitioun craveng to be Abbotis all, and kirkmen to posses the Kirk leiuengs; than in Religious places crap ydlenes, deliciousnes, and al bodylie plesure, feltirte in warldlie effayres, than Godis service began to be neglectit and kuil, than Hospitalitie, afor sa meikle commendet, bayth in heuin and erde, and quhat Clostiris respected maist was warldlie welth. Now Almis deidis abuset, ar turnet into plesures, now quhat laid up was to help the miserie of the pure, is gyven to satisfie the volupteousnes of the ryche. The mounkis now electes nocht Abbotis quha godlie ar maist and devote, bot Kingis cheises Abbots quha ar lustiest and maist with thame in favour. Now for S. Bernard and S. Benedict, diligat courteous ar placet. Throuch this, committed be the secularis, the kirkmen incuret the hatred and invie of the commoune peple specialie."—Dalrymple's Translation, ii. 91 (S. T. S. Edition).

[2] Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 180.

had entrusted him with the charge of the young Prince, the heir-apparent, as well as with the keeping of Stirling castle, but, instead of declining the trust or faithfully fulfilling it, he went over to the rebels and took the Prince with him. Whether the abbot had any hand in this piece of treachery, is not known. He appears to have been on good terms with his brother and to have visited him two years before the rebellion broke out, but that proves nothing as to his complicity in the treachery. On the other hand, his family benefited by the part which his brother had chosen to play. Perhaps he did. Certainly he did not suffer from it. He was present in the Parliament which met in September, 1488, the first in the new King's reign, and was made one of the Lords of the Articles. Still, none of these things prove that he had any hand in his brother's deed or was cognisant of his intention.

It was not long before the new King, James IV., began to take an interest in the abbey which his ancestor had founded. He was scarcely seated upon the throne when he confirmed to the monastery all the gifts and privileges it had received from his predecessors, alleging as his reason the singular love and favour which he bore to Abbot George Shaw, "our chief counsellor," and especially for the faithful service he had rendered by the virtuous education and training of his brother, the Duke of Ross, in his tender age. The charter is dated at Stirling, August 19, 1488.[1] On the same day, the abbot received another charter. This erected the town of Paisley into a free burgh of barony.

Like a number of his predecessors, Abbot Shaw did not hesitate to resist the claims of the diocesan to exercise jurisdiction over his abbey. Late in the afternoon of January 31, 1489, the rural dean of Rutherglen rode up to the gates of the monastery and demanded admission as the archbishop's visitor. The porter knew his business; and, instead of admitting the dean, barred the gates and sent for the abbot.

[1] Reg. de Pas., 84. James III. was slain or murdered on June 11. The date of the charter is two months and twelve days later.

The abbot came, and offered to admit the dean as a guest, but not as the archbishop's representative. Arguments followed, and perhaps threats, but the abbot was resolute. Night was coming on, and there was every chance of the dean having to spend the night outside the monastery's walls. Not liking the prospect, he at last laid aside his official dignity and "was content to be received into the monastery by the grace of the abbot and convent." But this was not the end of it. The dean was kept waiting outside the gates until the fact that he entered the monastery only as a guest was duly recorded in a public instrument, certified by Alexander Clugston, notary public, and dated at the gates of the monastery, January 31, 1489.[1]

A few months after this, another visitor approached the gates of the monastery, to whom they were gladly opened. The visitor this time was the King, who, about May 15, paid the abbot a visit, the first of many with which he honoured him and his successor. In July in the same year, he was in the neighbourhood, quelling the insurrection of the Earl of Lennox and Lord Lyle. The first had a castle at Crookston; the castle of the other was at Duchal, in the parish of Kilmacolm, and, on the eighteenth of the month, the King rode from Linlithgow to Glasgow on his way to besiege the castles of the rebellious lords. The gunners "cartit Mons," the great bombard from the castle of Edinburgh, a body of labourers armed with spades and mattocks was obtained from the abbot, and the King at once proceeded to invest Duchal. The siege was of short duration. About the twenty-eighth of the month the King left Duchal for Linlithgow, and on August 4 the artillery was at Kirkintilloch on its way home, Duchal and Crookston having both surrendered.[2]

In the following year, the abbot found himself in conflict with his neighbour, Sir John Ross of Hawkhead. Sir John

[1] Reg. de Pas., 351.

[2] Dickson, Lord High Treasurers' Accounts, i. ci.

was a bold and fearless knight, for whom the weapons of the Church had no terror, and the abbot was compelled to appeal to the civil courts. The charges against the knight were: 1, That for six years he had wrongfully withheld from the abbot and convent the yearly rental of eleven chalders of meal and four bolls, the price of the boll being ten shillings, for the lands of Ingliston; 2, That with certain of the name of Orr he had unjustly occupied and laboured the lands of Moniabrock, belonging to the monastery, in the parish of Lochwinnoch, and withheld grain and profits of the value of twenty pounds; 3, That he had unjustly occupied the lands of Thornley, in the parish of Paisley, belonging to the monks, and withheld from them grain and profits of the value of twenty merks; and lastly, that he was withholding from the abbey the tiends of Hawkhead, amounting to sixteen bolls of meal, the price of the boll being eight shillings, as also the tithes of Thornley, twelve bolls of meal and two of flour. The case was partly heard before the Lords of Council on November 12, 1490, and then continned to March 8 following.[1] What the final result was, is not known. It may be that the knight, finding that the case was going against him, made his peace with the abbot.

In the month of November, 1491, the King was again in Paisley. This time his errand was religious. The memory of his father's death, and the share he had had in the rebellion, continually haunted him, and gave him no rest, filling his mind with bitter feelings of remorse. Pilgrimages from one holy place to another he found of no avail to soothe his conscience or to give rest to his soul. At last he applied to the Pope for absolution from his guilt, and in July, 1491, Innocent VIII. issued a bull, in which he directed Abbot Shaw, along with the abbot of Jedburgh and the chancellor of Glasgow, to restore him and those who were associated with him in the crime to the communion of the Church after appointing them salutary penances.[2] And

[1] Reg. de Pas., 60-63. [2] Innes, Essay, 439 (Scot. Historian Series).

the King, who had been on a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Ninian at Whithorn, now came to receive formal absolution at the hands of his friend the abbot, and what other comfort he could bestow for the calming of his soul. No description of the incident has been left, but there can be no doubt that the service was impressive, as such services in the Roman Church usually are.

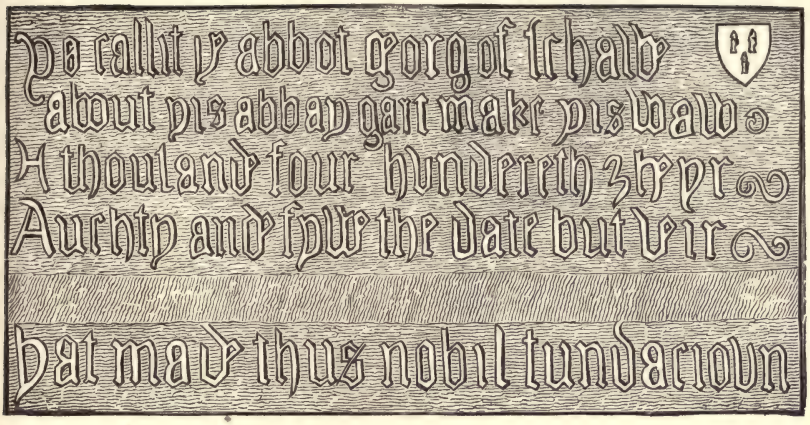
Like the other great abbots of the monastery, George Shaw added to its buildings. From the Lord High Treasurers' Accounts[1] we learn that building operations were going on during the King's visit in November, 1491. His Majesty, it is said, then gave "to the masonis of Pasla . . . xs." Besides a refectory and other conventual buildings, Abbot George reared a lofty tower over the principal gateway and enclosed the monastery, its gardens, and a small deer park with a wall about a mile in circuit, over the workmanship and beauty of which Bishop Leslie and others who saw it grew eloquent. On the north side of the wall were three shields. That in the centre bore the royal arms, while the one to the right of it had the arms of the High Stewards sculptured upon it, and the other the abbot's. At the angles of the wall were curiously wrought niches, in one of which was a statue of S. James and in another an image of the Virgin Mary, with this distich beneath it—

> "Hac ne vade nisi dixeris Ave Maria,
> Sit semper sine via, qui non tibi dicet Ave."[2]

Throughout its whole length statues were placed at regular intervals on the top of the wall. A few fragments of this wall may still be seen on the north and south sides of the east end of the Abbey Bridge. The statues have all disappeared, but one of the shields—that bearing the royal arms—is still preserved, as is also a tablet that formerly stood in the wall, a copy of which is given on the following page.

[1] Dickson, i. 183.

[2] "Go not this way, unless you have said Ave Maria. Let him be a wanderer who will not say Ave to thee."



"Tha callit the abbot Georg of Schaw
About this abbay gart make this waw
A thousande four hundreth zheyr
Auchty and fywe, the date but veir.
[Pray for his saulis salvacioun][1]
That made thus nobil fundacioun."

Abbot Shaw showed the interest he took in the welfare of the brethren over whom he presided, by assigning to them certain rents within his newly founded burgh, to be paid to them yearly at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, and to be used in providing them with a common pittance. The rents amounted to thirty gold crowns, but as the abbot could not dispose of the property of the abbey without the consent of the authorities at Clugny, a petition was addressed to them. The petition was favourably received and the desired permission given. The document conveying this permission is still extant in the town's charter chest, and has recently been printed.[2] It states that "for the augmentation of the pittance and of the comfort of his convent," the abbot

[1] This line, it will be observed, has been cut out. Pennant, however, appears to have seen it. See his Tour in Scotland (1772), 149. The two stones are in the Museum.

[2] Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Paisley, 44. At p. 133 in the same volume will be found the Pittance Roll.

"has given, granted and assigned to the said convent for ever, thirty crowns of gold of a yearly and perpetual rental, for the endowment and support of a solemn anniversary and of some other suffrages to be made and celebrated every year for ever in the said house of Paisley, by the said convent and their successors according to the intention of the abbot." One of the clauses expressly forbids "the said rents to be divided among the religious of the said convent in particular," and goes on to repeat that the thirty crowns are all to be laid out and used for providing a *common* pittance, *i.e.*, food of a superior kind to that which was usually served out to the monks, and of which the whole of the brethren were to partake jointly.

The abbot was made Lord High Treasurer in 1495, but after holding the office for a couple of years, he resigned it and retired to Paisley. The following year (1498), finding himself growing feeble with age, he proposed to withdraw from the active duties of his office; and in the month of March, his nephew, Robert Shaw, son of the governor of the castle of Stirling, and vicar of Monkton, in Ayrshire, having been canonically elected by the monks and his election having been confirmed by the King and Pope, took possession of the abbot's stall, but on the express understanding that his uncle might, at any time he thought fit, resume his place at the head of the monastery. Abbot George Shaw thereupon retired to the manor house of Blackston, one of the abbey granges. There he resided seven years, enjoying the peace and quiet of its pleasant shades, and giving sagacious counsel to as many as sought his advice. The memory of this is still unconsciously kept up in Renfrewshire by the use of the phrase, when special authority is thought to be required for a statement, "That wad need a line frae Blackston."

CHAPTER IX.

ERECTION OF THE BURGH:

JUNE 2, 1490.

WHEN the charter authorizing the erection of the town of Paisley into a free burgh of barony was received, though some things had been done in expectation of it, others also required to be done before full effect could be given to it. Permission had to be obtained from the Pope to feu the lands on which the new burgh was to be erected; their extent and boundaries had to be fixed; the privileges to be conferred upon the people had to be determined; feus had to be given off; officials to be chosen; and the whole machinery of the municipal government had to be set up and made ready for a successful beginning and career.

There can be no doubt that Abbot George Shaw had contemplated the erection of the town into a burgh of barony for some time. Since the day when Walter Fitz Alan, the first of the hereditary High Stewards, laid the foundation of the monastery, the aspect of the country round about it had greatly changed. In Walter's day, with the exception of the little village lying on the north bank of the White Cart, the manor house at Blackhall, the castles of the Steward's vassals at Crookston, Levern, and Elderslie, and the holding at Arkleston, the country all round was forest—not necessarily covered with trees, though there is evidence that there was no lack of them, but uninhabited and waste. Gradually the land had been taken in, and under the guidance of the monks, who were accounted among the best farmers in Europe, turned into fruitful fields, so that by the time of Abbot George, the country—which, within a radius of about two miles around Paisley, had formerly been uninhabited—was now bearing a fairly large

population. The evidence of this prosperity is in the Rent Roll begun by Abbot Crichton, which contains not only the names of the holdings and their occupiers, but also here and there a curious note respecting one or other of the latter.

Taking this Rent Roll as our guide, we find that there were tenants at Meikleriggs, Whitecruik, Bredilands, Corsebar, Thomasbar, Carriagehill, Schank's Tak, Cochrane's Tak, Todholm, Thornley, Ruchbank, Castlehead, Gersland, Causa, Causaend, Causasyde, Little and Meikle Blakfalds, the Orchard, Bernyard, Oxschawside, Prior's Croft, Oxschawhead, Bladdayard, Sclatarisbank, Durchetside, Greenlaw, Snawdon, Jack's Yard, Riccartsbar, Arkleston, Barskevan, Over Gallowhills, Nether Gallowhills, Lylesland, Mavisbank, Lyncleyff, Ferguslie, Camphill, Mossyde, Candranes, Linwood, the Blaklyn, and at other places.

At some of the places mentioned there were more than one tenant. At Meikleriggs, in Abbot Crichton's time, there were William Bully, Thomas Robert, Andrew Thomson, and Patrick Thomson. In Carriagehill there were three—William Henrison, John Murray, and John Slater. Todholm had two; Ruchbank four, one of them a widow, "Emma Logan, wife of the late Gilchrist,[1] leech." She had a house also "next to Causaside," and two gardens, one at Craighall and the other at Calside, for the latter of which she paid an annual rental of thirteen shillings. Oakshawside was divided into four holdings, one of which was vacant. The others were occupied by William White, Thomas Schelis, and Arthur Small. White and Schelis also rented two of the three holdings into which the Prior's Croft was divided, the third being held by John Denby. Thornley was let to the Knight of Hawkhead. Arkleston had three tenants; Barskevan, three; Greenlaw, two; but Lylesland,

[1] He also had a holding. It lay between the north bank of the Espedair and what used to be Gordon's Lane, and extended from Causeyside Street to where the Espedair falls into the White Cart. Apparently he had a house upon it, for it is entered separately from his widow's house, which is said to have been next to Causeyside. He received a charter as early as 1404.—Paisley Chartulary.

the two Gallowhills, and Riccartsbar, had only one each. This was in 1460 and 1461.

Later on, in 1475, under Abbot George Shaw, there were changes. At Meikleriggs, and paying between them, besides services, £8, were five tenants. Prior's Croft was split up into five holdings, and there is mention of houses and bothies upon it. In the Bladdayard we hear of the land which once belonged to the laird of Kelsoland, the house of Andrew Smith, "the walk mil cum the dame,"[1] the house of Lord John Ross, and of two other houses belonging to his lordship. There is mention, also, of "the great garden" in it, but this entry is deleted. The revenue from the Bladda mill of Paisley is set down at £14 3s. 8d. Sclatisbank was let to Robert Cavers, from whom it afterwards took its name of "Caversbank," and to Malcolm Spens. Causaend was occupied by John Adamson; the Orchard, by the widow of Lord Whiteford; Castlehead, by Thomas Mathie; Carriagehill, by John and Malcolm Slater; and Schank's Tak, by John Hunter. The mill at Blackland was let to John Millar for a period of five years. One of the notes in the Rental Book at this date is, "Lylesland, which is called Thrushcraig, twenty bolls of meal." In Abbot Robert Shaw's time, Arkleston was apparently divided into eight holdings and let to as many tenants, one of whom is called "Duncan de Erkleston" (Arkleston), though the rent he paid was only about one-third of that paid by John Landels, another of the tenants.

At the same time, the town of Paisley had been extending. Of the houses of the old town, or of its kirk or kirkyard, or of its village green, in the Rental Book we, of course, hear nothing. In Abbot Crichton's time (1459-1472), when Seedhill was divided into two holdings of unequal extent, the "villa de Pasleto" was divided into four, one of which was let to Emma Logan, Dr. Gilchrist's widow, of whom we have already heard. The other tenants were John Murray, William White, and John Slater. Close to the "villa de

[1] The fullers' mill with the dam.

Pasleto" was "The Corsflate," the rent of which was eleven shillings a year. In 1460, Nether Crossflat was let to Thomas Hector, the monastery's sculptor, on the conditions mentioned in the memorandum given below.[1] Immediately after the entry in the Rental Book respecting Crossflat, in the year 1475, there follows a list of thirty-six tenements, thirty-four of which are for houses. Where these thirty-four houses were, is not clear; but six[2] of them, at least, were situated on the west of the Cart, within the boundaries afterwards marked out for the new burgh. Perhaps more of them were there. At any rate, in addition to the places already mentioned, by the time George Shaw issued his charter, on June 2, 1490, we hear of the Brigend; Moss Raw; the Burngate, or Common Vennel, or St. Mirin's Wynd; the King's High Way, or the High Street; Wattir-syid; Wellmeadow; the Vennel opposite to Wellmeadow; Broomlands; the Passage to the Common. Tenements were let as early as the time of Abbot John de Lithgow, and there was a demand for more.[3]

Here was a place that was distinctly thriving, and was not for a moment to be compared with the neighbouring royal burgh of Renfrew, which, though the head of the barony and

[1] "Memorandum.—The place which is called Nether Crosflat is let to Thomas Hector, sculptor, for twenty shillings and the four bonys, with service of courts and all use and wont, as the place was formerly held by the late Robert Sclatar, with the following conditions, that the said Thomas shall hold himself ready and prepared to the said abbot and convent in all that concerns his art as a sculptor and shall undertake no other work pertaining to his art without permission obtained from the abbot and convent, and when he is required by the abbot and convent to perform the work of a sculptor at the monastery, he shall entirely lay aside whatever work he has in hand and return to the work at the monastery within a month, under pain of forfeiting this his lease and a penalty of a hundred pounds. Two shillings of bon silver."

[2] They were the houses of William White, Alan Sutherland, Sir William Wilson, Robert White, Dr. Gilchrist, and Emma Logan.

[3] One was let on December 2, 1489; and before June 2, 1490, thirty charters were issued for tenements within what afterwards became the Terra Burgalis and twelve for others lying outside the boundaries of the burgh. See the Chartulary.

county of Renfrew, and admirably situated for trade and commerce, as late as the year 1835, consisted for the most part of a single street.[1] No wonder that Abbot Shaw desired to see the place erected into a burgh. As a *villa* or village its inhabitants had to put up with many disadvantages. They had no form of municipal government, and none of those municipal organizations which the inhabitants of towns of equal size with their own, and of many that were smaller, enjoyed. They could hold no fairs and no markets, and were entirely subject in all matters of trade and commerce to Renfrew, the officers of which levied toll and custom up to the gates of the monastery.

Down to the year 1487, or for a period of close on three hundred years, the village of Paisley is rarely referred to in the records of the period. Only thrice before that date is it mentioned separately in the monastery's Register,[2] and in two of the cases only in connection with its erection into a burgh. In 1483, on the petition of Abbot George Shaw, Pope Sixtus IV. issued a commission to enquire whether it would be to the profit of the monastery to grant permission to the abbot to dispone and alienate certain lands and tenements in the village of Paisley and its neighbourhood, the lands and tenements, namely, which were afterwards erected into a burgh.

In 1486 or 1487, the inhabitants of the town suddenly appear in the Law Courts. The charge against them was, that they had gone to Renfrew and there committed "forthocht felone," and further, that they had had "intercommoning" with rebels, and had supported and resetted them. When tried before the Lord High Chamberlain at his court at Renfrew, they were all found guilty,[3] and were heavily fined. Reading between the lines, it is not difficult to see that the

[1] "The town is very small, consisting principally of a single street."—Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Commissioners' Local Reports, Pt. ii., 356.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 260, 261.

[3] Reg. de Pas., 272, 273; Charters and Docs., 25.

abbot's regality had become a sort of refuge for those who were at variance with the bailies of Renfrew, and that the people of Paisley had been provoked into reprisals for the manner in which the bailies of the royal burgh were levying toll and custom. When condemned, the inhabitants of Paisley appealed to their abbot, who, probably nothing loath, took their case in hand and brought it before the King, with whom he had sufficient influence to get the fines remitted, and his servants and tenants protected against any further proceedings that might arise out of their "forthocht felone."[1]

This incident seems to have hastened on other matters. On February 14, 1488, the abbot concluded an agreement with the provost and bailies of the burgh of Renfrew, by which their mutual boundaries were fixed.[2] On August 19, came the charter from the King, authorizing the erection of the village into a burgh of barony, and on the tenth of the following November, the commissioners appointed by Sixtus IV., in 1483, to consider the question of feuing, gave their decision in favour of the disponing and alienation of the lands of the monastery as desired by the abbot.[3]

The King's charter is in the following terms:—

"James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all good men of his whole land, clerics and laics, greeting: Be it known that for the singular respect we have for the glorious confessor S. Mirin and our Monastery of Paisley, founded by our most illustrious progenitors, where many of the bodies of our ancestors lie buried and are at rest, and for the singular favour and love which we bear to the Venerable Father in Christ, George Schaw, now Abbot of the said Monastery, our very dear Counsellor, and for the faithful service rendered to us in many ways by the said Venerable Father in times past, and particularly for the virtuous education and upbringing of our dearest brother James Duke of Ross, in his tender age, we have made, constituted, erected and created, and by the tenor of this our present charter do make,

[1] Reg. de Pas., 272, 273; Charters and Docs., 25, 27.

[2] Reg. de Pas., 406; Charters and Docs., 25.

[3] Reg. de Pas., 258, 261.

constitute, erect, and create the village of Paisley, lying within our Sheriffdom of Renfrew, a Free Burgh of Barony. We have also granted to the present and future inhabitants of the said Burgh full and free liberty of buying and selling in the said Burgh wines, wax, woollen and linen cloth, wholesale or retail, and all other goods and wares whatsoever coming to it, with power and liberty of having and holding in the same place, bakers, brewers, butchers, and sellers both of flesh and fish, and workmen in any of the crafts belonging or that may hereafter in any way belong to the liberty of a burgh of barony; We have likewise granted to the burgesses and inhabitants of the said Burgh of Paisley to have and possess therein for ever a cross, and a market every week on Monday, and two public fairs yearly:—namely, one on the day of S. Mirin, and the other on the day of S. Marnock, with tolls and other liberties pertaining or that may hereafter pertain to fairs of this kind; of holding and having in all time coming the said village of Paisley a mere and free Burgh in barony with the foresaid privileges, liberties, grants, and all other liberties, profits, commodities, easements, and just pertinents whatsoever as well not named as named that pertain or may hereafter justly pertain to a burgh of barony, and as freely, quietly, fully, entirely, honourably, well and in peace, in all and by all, as the burghs of Dunfermline, Newburgh, and Arbroath, or any other burgh of barony in our kingdom in any time past is more largely endowed or held; Moreover, we have granted and by the tenor of this our present charter do grant to the said Venerable Father and his successors, Abbots of Paisley, the right and power of choosing annually the provost, bailies, and other officers of the said burgh and of removing the same as often as may be necessary, and of appointing others anew in their place as it shall seem to the Abbot and his successors more expedient, convenient, and opportune, without any other election of the burgesses or community of the said burgh and without any revocation or contradiction from us or our successors made upon any grounds whatever in future. Wherefore we strictly enjoin all and singular whom it concerns or may concern and command that they do not presume to do anything contrary to our said grants or to encroach in any way upon them under every penalty that may be incurred towards our royal majesty. In testimony whereof we have directed our great seal to be affixed to this our

present charter. Witnesses:—The reverend Fathers in Christ, Robert bishop of Glasgow, George bishop of Dunkeld, our beloved kinsmen Colin Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell our chancellor, Archibald Earl of Angus, Lord Douglas, &c., Patrick Lord Hailes Master of our Household, Robert Lord Lyle our Justiciar, Andrew Lord le Gray, Lawrence Lord Oliphant, John Lord Drummond, the Venerable Father in Christ John prior of the monastery of St. Andrews, Keeper of our Privy Seal, William Knollis Preceptor of Torphichin, Knight, our Treasurer, Master Alexander Inglis, archdeacon of St. Andrews our Comptroller and our Lord Clerk Register, &c., and Archibald Whitelaw subdean of Glasgow our Secretary. At Stirling the nineteenth day of the month of August, A.D. 1488, and the first of our reign."[1]

Two years later, on June 2, 1490, the abbot gave effect to the above by issuing the following indenture:—

"To all who may see or hear this Indented Charter, George Schaw, Abbot of the Monastery of Paisley and Convent of the same, of the Order of Clugny, in the Diocese of Glasgow, wishes everlasting safety in the Lord. Be it known to your university, That forasmuch as we have the village of Paisley made and created by our most Excellent Lord the King into a free Burgh to us and our successors, as is more fully contained in a charter granted thereupon under the Great Seal: Therefore we, careful treaty having been had beforehand upon this matter, and the utility of our said monastery foreseen and considered on every side, with the consent and assent of our whole chapter chapterly assembled, have given, granted, set, and in feu-farm let, and by this our present Charter have confirmed, and hereby give, grant, set, and in feu-farm let, and by this our present charter confirm to our lovites, the Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of our Burgh of Paisley, ALL and WHOLE our said Burgh of Barony, with the pertinents lying in our regality of Paisley, and within the sheriffdom of Renfrew, within the bounds and limits underwritten, *to wit*, Beginning at the end of the Bridge of Paisley, upon the water of Cart, and so extending

[1] Reg. de Pas., 263; Reg. M. S., 1768, vol. 1424-1513.

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by the King's highway towards the west to the vennel opposite the Wellmeadow, and from thence equally ascending towards the north by the ditch of the lands of Oakshawside to the wood of Oakshaw between the said wood, as also the passage to the Common of the said Burgh and the Broomdyke, which extends by the lands of Snawdon, from the Common of the said Burgh to the water of Cart on the north and the said water of Cart as also the torrent of Espedair on the east part, and the Mustard-yard and way extending on the north side of the house of John Murray, and so by the hedge extending above the west end of the Whitefauld on the south and the said Whitefauld, as also a part of the common of the said Burgh and the said Wellmeadow and ditch of the said lands of Oakshawside on the west upon the one side and other for the erecting and building of tenements, mansions, and yards for the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses and Community, as is specially assigned, or may hereafter be assigned to every one of them by us and our said Convent, by our charters of feu-farm, together with certain acres of the nearest lands lying within the limits and bounds aforesaid, assigned or to be assigned to every tenement, mansion, and yard, according to the tenor of our said charters made or to be made thereupon. Moreover, we annex and incorporate the toft, houses, buildings, mansions, and yards of the lands of Seedhill to the liberty and privilege of our said Burgh of Barony of Paisley, to be possessed perpetually in all times coming. Likewise, we have given, granted, set, and in feu-farm let, and also give, grant, set, and in feu-farm let to the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of our said Burgh of Paisley and their successors for the time being, our lands underwritten, whereof one part of the said lands lies at the west end of our said Burgh towards the south, between the lands of Causeyside and the lands of Thomas Leitch, called the *Bank*, on the east, and the lands of Castlehead, and the lands of Sir Henry Mous, John Whiteford, and the *Stobs* of Riccarsbar on the south, and the end of the Ward called *the bottom of the Ward* on the west, and the tail of the Broomlands, and the Wellmeadow and Prior's Croft on the north; and the other part of the said lands lies on the north of the said Burgh, between the lands of Oakshawhead and the Wood of Oakshaw and the croft of Robert Cavers, called the *Sclattbank*, on the south part, and the lands of Snawdon and water of Cart and the holm

of Wardmeadow on the east, and the march dyke of Inch and the Common Moss of Paisley on the north, and the said Moss on the west upon the one side and the other, for the common of their said Burgh, to be possessed for ever for the common pasturage of the cattle of the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community; And also, we have given and granted free licence and power to the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community and their successors for the time being, to win and take their fuel from any of our petaries of Paisley, for sustaining the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses and Community, and their successors in perpetuity, and to win and take stones from our quarries, for the construction and building of the said Burgh as often as it may please them, provided we have what is necessary for ourselves in the said petaries and quarries when we please. And if the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, or Community of the said Burgh, shall find or gain a coal-pit or coal-pits in their Common of the said Burgh, we will and ordain that we and our successors shall have thence what is necessary for us, on making payment on our part of the expense of gaining the said coal-pit or coal-pits, as the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of the said Burgh pay for their part thereof, or shall be willing to pay. And further, we give and grant to the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of the said Burgh, a common passage of the breadth of twelve ells, on the north side of S. Ninian's Cross, extending from the said part of the foresaid common lands up to the other part thereof; To have and hold all and whole the foresaid Burgh of Paisley in a barony, with the tenements, mansions, yards, acres of lands, bounds and limits thereof, assigned or to be assigned by us to them, with common pasturage for their cattle upon our Moss of Paisley, and licence in our petaries and quarries aforesaid, as the same lie in length and breadth, to the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of the foresaid Burgh, and their successors, in feu-farm heritably for ever, by all their right meiths and divisions, limited or to be limited by us to them; with power of buying and selling within the said Burgh, wines, wax, cloth, woollen and linen, wholesale or retail, and any other goods and merchandise whatever coming thereto; with the petty customs and tolls, and with all and sundry other liberties, commodities, profits, and easements, and just pertinents whatsoever, belonging, or which

may justly hereafter belong to the said Burgh in Barony; With power of choosing and making Burgesses and Stallingers, according to the custom, laws, and statutes of burghs made thereanent: which Burgesses and Stallingers, and every one of them shall, at their entry, swear that they will be faithful to our supreme Lord the King and his successors, Kings of Scotland, as also to the Steward of Scotland and his heirs and successors, and to us the Abbot and Convent and our successors, and to the said Bailies and Community, and common utility of the said Burgh, in the same manner as burgesses in other burghs do, or have been in use to do. Moreover, we give and grant to the Provost and Bailies of the said Burgh, to be elected by us for the time, and their successors, free power of holding, convening, and fencing the Burgh courts of the said Burgh, and of continuing the same as often as may be needful, of levying the issues and amerciaments of the said courts, of fining absentees, punishing transgressors and delinquents, according to the statutes and laws of burghs; and to choose serjeants, officials, officers, tasters of ale and wine, and appreciators of flesh, and other servants whomsoever necessary for a burgh, as is enacted and ordained in other burghs, according to the strength, form, and tenor, so far as concerns the extension of the foresaid liberties, as is at length contained in the Charter of our said Sovereign Lord the King, granted to us and our successors concerning the said Burgh of Barony. And further, we give and grant to the Bailies of the said Burgh, to be chosen by us and our successors, full power or faculty of taking and receiving resignations of all and sundry lands, acres, and tenements, lying within the said Burgh, and to give and deliver heritable state and seisin, as is the use in burghs, to the wives of the possessors, or their true heirs; provided they give seisin to no other person, neither receive a resignation without our consent and assent sought and obtained thereto. It is also our will, that the said Provost and Bailies of the said Burgh be annually chosen by advice of us and our successors, at the term and court limited by law within burghs, and that they shall be deprived as often as need be, without any obstacle whatsoever. And further, we will and grant that the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of the said Burgh, shall for ever have, for sustaining the common purse and profit of the said Burgh, the fines of all burgesses and stallingers of the said

Burgh, to be made in all times coming, together with the petty customs and tolls of the said Burgh, as is the custom in other burghs. Rendering yearly the said Provost, Bailies, and Community of the said Burgh and their heirs and successors, to us and our successors, for the said tenements, mansions, yards, and acres of land within the bounds and limits of the Burgh before-written, the burghal farm and service of courts use and wont, with the yearly rents thence owing, according to the tenor of our rental and register, and as is at more length contained in our foresaid charters made and granted, or to be made and granted, upon the feu farm tacks of the said tenements, mansions, yards, and acres; and that the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of the said Burgh, and their successors, shall come with their grain, of every kind, in so far as they shall grind, to our mill of Paisley, and not to any other mill, paying to us multure at dish thirty-one, as men abiding forth of our lands; for every other burden, exaction, question, demand, or secular service, which can be justly exacted or required by any one of the said Burgh of Barony, tenements, mansions, yards, and acres, lying within the said Burgh, with the pertinents. In witness whereof, the common seal of the chapter of our said Monastery is appended to the part of this indented Charter remaining with the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, and Community of the said Burgh; and the common seal of the said Burgh of Paisley is appended to the part of the said indented Charter remaining with the said Abbot and Convent. At the Monastery and Burgh aforesaid, the second day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninety, Before these witnesses, *to wit*, James Schaw of Sawchy, David Schaw his son, Thomas Stewart of Craigenfeoch, Robert Semple, John Ralston of that Ilk, John Schaw, Sir Alexander Clugston and James Young, notaries public, and many others."[1]

The abbot's charter, it will be observed, is much more detailed than the King's. It proceeds upon the narrative that the King has granted to the abbot and convent a charter erecting the village of Paisley into a free burgh of barony, and then goes on to give effect to its various clauses.

[1] Town Charter Chest; Reg. de Pas, 264.

First, it defines the boundaries of the new burgh, and the lands which are let in feu-farm to the provost, bailies, burgesses, and community thereof. The boundary ran from the Vennel opposite to the Wellmeadow north along the ditch of Oakshawside to the wood of Oakshaw, where it turned east and ran along the ridge of Oakshaw to the Common Passage, or the present Stoney Brae, where it turned north and went down the hill to the Snawdon Burn, where it again turned eastward and ran along the burn till it joined the Broomdyke, along which it proceeded to the Cart, enclosing the lands of Caversbank and Snawdon or Sneddon. It then ran south along the White Cart. On the south, the boundary began where the Espedair joins the Cart. Thence it followed the course of the Espedair to about the foot of South Campbell Street, where it turned west and then north along Espedair Street to Causeyside Street, when it turned west, passing Murray's mailing and along a hedge to near the line of Calside villas, where it again turned north till it reached S. Mirin's Burn. This it then followed in a westerly direction to about the foot of Lady Lane, and joined the ditch on Oakshawside. The lands thus marked off, together with the lands of Seedhill, with its toft, houses, buildings, mansions, yards, are assigned to the provost, bailies, and community, and let to them by the monastery. Certain other lands are also specified as being let for a common pasture for the burgh. Next, licence is given to dig peat, quarry stone, and win coal free of cost, provided that the abbot and convent have what is necessary for themselves. A passage twelve ells broad is given to the community on the north side of S. Ninian's Cross, at the head of Causeyside Street, for access to certain of the common lands. Power is then given to the burgesses to buy and sell, wholesale and retail, wines, wax, cloth, and other goods, to levy toll and custom, to make burgesses and stallingers, and to have arts and crafts according to the custom, laws, and statutes of burghs. The burgess oath is then prescribed. Power is given to the provost and magistrates to hold courts, levy fines and punish delinquents, to

appoint sergeants, officers, tasters, and other officials, to receive resignations of land, etc., within the burgh, and to give heritable state and seisin to wives, widows, and true heirs. The provost and bailies are to be chosen yearly by and with the consent of the abbot and convent, who reserve power to dismiss any of them, and to appoint others in their places as often as they see fit without any further election. For the maintenance of the common purse permission is given to the provost, etc., to retain the fines of all burgesses and stallingers, with the proceeds of the petty tolls and customs. In return the provost, bailies, etc., are to render yearly to the abbot and convent the burghal farm and service of court use and wont, with the yearly rents set down in the rental book of the abbey and the feu charters. Finally, all the inhabitants are required to grind all their corn at the abbot's mill.

In addition to the rights and privileges enumerated in the abbot's charter, that given by the King, it will be observed, secured to the community the right to possess a cross and market place for ever, and to hold a market every week on Monday, and two public fairs yearly—one on the day of S. Mirin (September 15), and the other on the day of S. Marnock (October 25)—with tolls and liberties pertaining to fairs of this kind.

With these rights and privileges, the town of Paisley, on the second day of June, 1490, began its career among the burghs of Scotland. It has to be remembered, however, that notwithstanding all that the abbot and convent had done for it, it was as yet only in the second rank of Scottish burghs. It was only a burgh of barony, or at most of regality, and could not take rank with the royal burghs of Ayr, Irvine, Rutherglen, Renfrew, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, or Inverkeithing. Rights and privileges were enjoyed by these which no burgh of barony or regality could pretend to. The burgesses of royal burghs held of the King, and were the King's men; those of Paisley held of the abbot, and were the abbot's men. Provosts of royal burghs had seats in Parliament, while provosts of abbot's or bishop's or other

burghs of barony or regality had not, unless, like the provosts of Glasgow at a later period, they were specially summoned. The burgesses of a royal burgh could choose their own provost and bailies and town councillors, without the intervention or assent and consent of a Superior. In the case of Paisley, as of other burghs of barony, the Superior held the right of vetoing the elections, and of deposing when they chose, the elected of the people, and of appointing others in their place. Residence on his own borrowage in a royal burgh for a year and a day by a serf or slave unchallenged by his lord freed him for ever; but a similar residence in a burgh of barony did not. Burgesses in a King's burgh often enjoyed extensive privileges of trade; the privileges of the burgesses of a burgh of barony in this respect were often extremely limited, being generally restricted to the burgh or barony or regality in which they resided.

All the same, the rights and privileges conferred upon the people of Paisley were extremely valuable. Within certain limits they became their own masters, and could choose their own rulers. They were released for ever from the domination of the provost and bailies of Renfrew. They had the immense advantages of having their own markets, and of having the prices of the goods exposed for sale in them fixed by their own officers, of levying their own tolls and customs, and of using the proceeds of these, together with the fines of their courts, for their own common benefit. The fairs they were authorized to hold, while proving a source of revenue, would bring them into contact with the outer world, introduce new ideas among them, and help to widen their social and intellectual horizon. And lastly, the erection of their village into a burgh, would bind the inhabitants together in the bonds of a common interest, foster among them the spirit of independence, and incite them to fresh enterprise.

They were soon to learn, however, that they were not to be allowed to enter upon their new and coveted privileges unmolested or without a protest. The burghs of Scotland were a powerful body. They often quarrelled among themselves, but were always ready to unite in defence of their

privileges and in guarding them against the encroachments of any new aspirant to a place in their ranks. Within two months after the issue of the King's charter, it seems to have been noised abroad that Paisley was to be erected into a burgh of barony, and probably it was in consequence of what he heard was in contemplation among the neighbouring burghs, that Abbot Shaw moved the King to issue, on October 18, 1488, a precept under the Privy Seal forbidding all and sundry, but especially the burghs of Ayr, Irvine, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Rutherglen, and Glasgow, "to vex, trubill or inquiet the said venerabill Faider and his Convent in the peceabill broiking and jousing of the said burgh and the priviligis of the samyn."[1]

The burgh which Paisley had most to fear was Renfrew. For a hundred years the officers of that burgh had levied toll and custom, not only throughout the barony of Renfrew, but also throughout the whole of that portion of the regality of Paisley which lay within it. The erection of Paisley into a burgh was, therefore, a distinct curtailment of the use and wont of the royal burgh, and involved the loss of a considerable yearly revenue, besides setting up rival markets and fairs in its immediate neighbourhood. To none of these things were the provost and magistrates of the royal burgh at all disposed to submit. They resolved, if possible, to maintain what they considered to be their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges. Whether they interviewed the abbot or entered into any negotiations with him in respect to the position of affairs, does not appear. But soon after the issue of the abbot's charter, and while the market cross of the new burgh was still in process of erection, "certain evil advised persons of the said town of Renfrew," came "in under silence of night to Paisley and . . . maliciously and wickedly broke and destroyed certain stones and hewn work which was ordained to the Market Cross of the said town of Paisley."[2]

[1] Reg. de Pas., 274; Charters and Docs., 32.

[2] The Lennox Book, ii. 140; Charters and Docs., 39.

One can imagine the vexation and sorrow which Abbot George and his burgesses felt, when they awoke in the morning and saw the beautiful hewn stone which was to have formed their market cross, and to stand as the symbol of their privileges, cast down and destroyed. But Abbot George bided his time, and when in the month of December following, the King came to visit him, he formally laid before him a complaint respecting the wrong done to himself and his burgh by the men of Renfrew. Whereupon the King issued a letter to John Earl of Lennox, one of the Justiciars[1] of the regality of Paisley, and Matthew, the Earl's son, charging them to make proclamation at the cross of Renfrew, and "in all other needful places," of his royal will concerning the burgh of Paisley, and to seek out and apprehend and punish those who were guilty of the outrage with all rigour as an example to others.[2]

Whether any of the raiders were apprehended and punished, is not recorded. The provost and magistrates of Renfrew, instead of being daunted by the King's precept, charter, proclamation, and letter, determined to continue their resistance, and resolved to bring the question of their right to levy toll and custom in Paisley to the test in the law courts. Whether they had any hand in inciting the marauders who destroyed the market cross, is unknown; but, soon after the departure of the King from Paisley, the custumars and officers of the town of Renfrew suddenly made their appearance one Monday in the market place of Paisley and proceeded to seize and poind for their customs "a quartar of beyf, takyn for a penny of custume; ane cabot of cheyss, taken for a halfpenny of custume; a wynd of quhitclaith, for a penny of custume." But this time Alan Stewart and John Whiteford, the abbot's bailies, were on the alert, and no sooner were the goods poinded than they were re-taken, and the custumars and officers of Renfrew had to return empty handed.[3] Perhaps

[1] Reg. de Pas., 271. [2] The Lennox Book, ii. 140; Charters and Docs., 39.

[3] Acta Dom. Audit., 162, 176; Acta Dom. Con., 235, 287, *113; Reg. de Pas., 403, 404; Charters and Docs., 40, 47-52.

this was the result they desired. Anyhow, the provost and magistrates of the royal burgh at once raised an action before the Lords Auditors against the two bailies of Paisley "for defrauding of our Soverane Lord of his custumys and usurping apon the privilegis and fredomes of the said burgh [of Renfrew] and taking fra the custumaris and officiaris of the said burgh of the gudis poyndit and takyn be thaim," etc. Judgment was delivered in the case on June 13, 1493.

In all their contention, there were two things which the provost and magistrates of Renfrew had overlooked. One was, that although the charter of Robert III., erecting the town of Renfrew into a royal burgh, was dated in the same year as the same monarch's charter erecting the town and lands of Paisley into a free barony and regality, the Paisley charter passed the Great Seal at a date prior to that on which the infeftment made to the town of Renfrew did. The other was that the town and lands of Paisley were thus cut out of the barony over which they claimed the right to levy toll and custom. On these grounds the Lords Auditors gave judgment in favour of the abbot's bailies, adding the significant words, "the town of Renfrew is privilegit bot of the landis within thar burgh and barony of Renfrew." This finding of the Lords Auditors was immediately after confirmed by the King.[1]

Thus far the abbot and his burgh were triumphant; and the abbot appears to have resolved to humble the pride of the royal burgh and to avenge the indignity that had been put upon him. Two years later (1495) he raised an action against the magistrates and community of Renfrew of a much more serious nature than that which they had raised against his bailies, Stewart and Whiteford. He sued them for "the wrongous taking and intromitting with the customs within the regality and barony of Paisley and the illegal detention and withholding" of the same from himself and his predecessors for the period of one hundred years; for the costs in the recent action; for preventing the abbot and convent from

[1] Reg. de Pas., 403; Charters and Docs., 48, 49.

having common pasture for their cattle on the muir of Renfrew, in which the abbot and convent were heritably infeft; for the damage done to the market cross; for interfering with the fishings of the monastery in the sheriffdom of Dumbarton and setting of nets there for the period of twenty years; and for "the maistyrful douncastyng of ane houss perteyning" to the abbot and convent, "liand in the thoun of Arkilston." The damage sustained was estimated by the abbot at one hundred and sixteen merks and eighty pounds; and for this sum he sued. The bailies and community of Renfrew were summoned to appear before the Council in Edinburgh and answer the charge, on May 14, 1495. Whether they appeared or not, there is apparently no record. The probability is, they took fright and were only too glad to arrange a compromise with the abbot. Be that as it may, we hear no more of midnight raids or of the poinding of goods in Paisley by the custumars of Renfrew. The cross was built and the fairs and markets went on undisturbed by the jealousy of the neighbouring towns. [1]

[1] Acta Dom. Con., *113; Reg. de Pas., 404; Charters and Docs., 50.



CHAPTER X.

ABBOT ROBERT.

Abbot Robert Shaw appears to have been a capable man and a worthy successor to his uncle. George Shaw had raised the monastery to a degree of power and dignity it had never known before, and in no respect did it suffer under the rule of his nephew. After the fatal battle of Flodden, Abbot Robert became a conspicuous figure at Court, and took a prominent part in the political affairs of the kingdom. The affairs of the monastery were thus for the most part left to the claustral prior; but the abbot was sufficiently powerful to protect the monastery, and the prior sufficiently strong to rule it.

In the year of Abbot Robert's appointment, there died in the monastery one who in former years had lived a wild and turbulent life and caused much trouble in the kingdom. This was John Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, who, besides making war upon his sovereign, had sent ambassadors to the Court of England and aspired to be King of the Hebrides. Twice he had sought the royal forgiveness, and twice it had been bestowed upon him; but when, for the third time, he petitioned for the royal pardon, though the pardon was once more extended to him, he was stripped of his honours and possessions, made to reside at the Court as a pensioner on the King's bounty,[1] and finally sent to expiate his sins in the monastery of Paisley. His old friend and fellow-conspirator, the Earl of Douglas, had been sent for similar reasons, and for the same end, to the abbey of Lindores.[2] When he heard his sentence, Douglas said, it is reported, "He that can do no better, must needs become a monk." The Lord of the Isles

[1] Dickson, Lord High Treasurers' Accounts, i. cxiii.

[2] Laing, Lindores Abbey, 113.

died in 1498, and was buried, not among his forefathers in S. Oran's aisle in Iona, but, at his own request, in the abbey of Paisley, beside the tomb of Robert III.

The year 1499 was marked by an incident which indicated the piety and prosperity of two of its inhabitants, if not the general prosperity of the burgh. For some centuries the abbey church, with the exception of the choir, which was reserved for the use of the monks, had been used as a church for the landward part of the parish. By the time we have reached, the nave and northern and southern transepts of the church had already been adorned with a number of altars. They were in all six, and were dedicated to Our Lady S. Mary the Virgin and SS. Ninian, Nicholas, Peter, Catherine, and Anne. Each of them was endowed with funds for the maintenance of a chaplain, who was daily to say masses at it for the souls of the dead and of the living, But in the year mentioned two of the inhabitants of the burgh, though not natives of it, not only founded and built an altar, but also a chapel to contain it. They were James Craufurd of Kylwynnat and Elizabeth Galbraith, his wife. Craufurd was a cadet of the old family of Craufurd of Auchinames, in Kilbarchan parish, and his wife, it has been conjectured, belonged either to the Galbraiths of Stirling or to the Galbraiths of Greenock. Craufurd took his designation "of Kylwynnat" from the lands of Kylwynnat, some sixty acres in extent, in the parish of Campsie, in Stirlingshire, of which he became owner on April 29, 1489.[1] The fact that he appears as a witness in several of Abbot George Shaw's charters suggests that the pensioner of the abbey held him in considerable esteem. Anyhow, he and his wife were thrifty as well as pious, for, according to the charter of endowment, it was out of the savings of their industry that they built and endowed the altar and chapel of SS. Mirin and Columba.

The endowments of the chaplainry were the burghal tenements and burghal lands of Seedhill, the outfield of the said lands of Seedhill and the lands of Wellmeadow. The bailies

[1] Semple, First Supplement to S. Mirin, 13, 15.

of the town were appointed patrons, with the right of presenting after the death of the founders, and in the event of their failing to appoint within twenty days after a vacancy occurred, the right was to devolve upon the claustral prior and convent. The chaplain, who, if possible, was to be a native of Paisley, was to reside in the monastery and give daily attendance to say masses for the salvation of the souls of those mentioned in the narrative of the charter, and in the event of his absenting himself for fifteen days without leave, the patrons could dismiss him.

The deed of gift was executed at Paisley, July 15, 1499, and bore the seals of the archbishop of Glasgow, the chapter of Glasgow cathedral, the burgh of Paisley, James Craufurd and Elizabeth Galbraith.[1] Six days later, July 21, the charter was formally handed over to the bailies, Alan Stewart and Stephen Ness, in the Tolbooth, in the presence of William Stewart, town clerk, and the community of Paisley, at ten o'clock in the forenoon. The event was probably celebrated with great rejoicings. The generous benefactor did not long survive this pious act, for before the end of the year he died, and was buried in the nave of the abbey church, where his resting-place may still be seen, marked by a flat tombstone bearing an inscription which concludes with the prayer, *Orate pro anima ejus.*

Like his predecessor, Abbot Robert had to resist the claims of his diocesan. Robert Blacader, archbishop of Glasgow, had for some reason proceeded to sequestrate the fruits of certain of the abbey's churches and the rents of certain lands belonging to the monastery. He had also refused the monks "letters of justice" against certain who withheld their tithes, and had interfered with the brethren in other ways, notwithstanding their acknowledged exemption from his jurisdiction. In his distress the abbot resolved to appeal to the Pope, and on August 14, 1500, his appeal was made before William Steward, public notary, in the chapel of S. Mirin, from which

[1] The charter is still preserved in the Archives of the Town of Paisley, and is printed with a translation in Charters and Documents, 52.

it would appear that the building of the chapel was then finished.[1] What became of the petition to Rome is not known, but there can be little doubt that, as on former occasions, the privileges of his Order stood the abbot in good stead and secured for him a favourable decision.

In 1501, James IV. made his first visit to the abbey during the rule of Abbot Robert. As we have already seen, this was by no means his first visit either to Paisley or to its neighbourhood. He was in Paisley on May 15, 1489,[2] and on July 22 following, he was at Duchal, in the parish of Kilmacolm, besieging Lord Lyle, when he sent to Paisley for workmen with spades and shovels to assist in the siege.[3] In the following year, he was at the abbey in the month of December, and issued his instructions to the Earl of Lennox to search for and punish those who had destroyed the stones in process of preparation for the new market cross.[4] On November 21, 1491, he was here on a totally different errand, seeking to be reconciled to the Church.[5] He had then been on a pilgrimage to Whithorn.[6] There he had given eighteen shillings to the masons, and while in Paisley he gave to the masons employed on the abbey buildings, ten shillings, probably "to the drink," as at Whithorn. He was in the neighbourhood on February 22, 1497-8, when he rode from Glasgow to Duchal, where his mistress, Marion Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, was residing, and when the treasurer "be the Kingis command" gave eighteen shillings "to the noris that fosterit Marioun Boydis barne."[7] On the 16th of the following month, he was again at Duchal, where, having now completed "his perfect age of twenty-five years," he executed his formal revocation of all grants made by him during his minority.[8] Paisley on these,

[1] This was in 1500, thirteen months after the chapel was formally handed over to the bailies. For the appeal, see Reg. de Pas., 354.

[2] Treas. Accs., i. 112. [3] Treas. Accs., i. 116.

[4] The Lennox Book, ii. 140; Charters and Docs., 39.

[5] Innes, Essay, 439 (Scot. Historian Series). [6] Treas. Accs., i. 182, 183.

[7] Treas. Accs., i. 378. [8] Treas. Accs., i. 388.

as on other occasions, was passed by. When the King made his first visit to Abbot Robert, he was on his way to Whithorn. On August 10 he was in Glasgow, and on the following day he was in Paisley, when he directed twenty shillings to be given to the priests.[1] On the 18th day of the month he was at Whithorn, and at Wigtown on the 19th. On the 26th he was at Ayr, and at Glasgow on the 27th, having apparently passed by Paisley.[2] Twelve months later he set out again for Whithorn, and was at Paisley on August 11. Among other payments made by the treasurer in Paisley on that occasion were: twenty-eight shillings to a certain Andro Payntour; eighteen shillings to the masons and wrights of Paisley, in drink silver; nine shillings to Hugh Wallace, falconer; and five shillings to a man that brocht quik dukis to the King."[3] On August 30, the King was in Linlithgow, and does not appear to have called at Paisley on his return from the shrine of S. Ninian.[4] The following year the King set out for Whithorn somewhat earlier in the year, and returned by way of Paisley in the month of May. On May 20, 1503, he directed twenty-eight shillings to be given to two priests; fourteen to be given "to the masonis and werkmen in Paslay, of drink-silver." Two payments made on the following day are somewhat curious. One was nine shillings "be the Kingis command to ane man brocht lxx. hurd pennyis to the King to see." The other was fourteen shillings "to ane man brocht ane fed ox fra the Lady Levingstoun."[5] The King was in Whithorn in the month of June, 1504, and on his return spent the last day of the month at Paisley. On July 1, he directed Maister Andro Makbrek "to gif the priestis thare" twenty shillings. On the same day he proceeded to Glasgow.[6] On his way thither, he gave fourteen shillings in drink silver to the masons at Hawkhead.[7] During this visit he was accom-

[1] Treas. Accs., ii. 80. [2] Treas. Accs., ii. 81. [3] Treas. Accs., ii. 157.
[4] Treas. Accs., ii. 158. [5] Treas. Accs., ii. 372.
[6] Treas. Accs., ii. 262. [7] Treas. Accs., ii. 433.

panied by the Queen, and among other payments made at Paisley at this time were:—

Item, the last day of Junii, in Paslay, to Lord Simpilles harpar, - - - - - - xiiijs.
Item, giffin to the Quene to gif away quhen scho send Maister Levisay, Inglisman, with ane ring in takin, xviijs.
Item, payit to Hannis, gunnar, for uncostis of artailyery passand to the Ilis mair na the silver that he gat, ljs. xjd.
Item, the first day of Julii, to Alexander Law and Downe, falconar, remanand in Strivelin to tak the halkis of Cragorth, - - - - xs.
Item, to ane priest that deliverit perle[1] to the King, - xxiiijs.[2]

The following year, 1505, the King was in Paisley on June 7, when he gave twenty shillings to the priests. He had come from Glasgow and Dumbarton, and returned to Dumbarton on the 10th of the month.[3] The day before he arrived in Paisley, John Quarrier, "be the Kingis command," came to the town for a slater, whom he was directed to send to Lochmaben, and on the 10th of the following month, "the sclatar of Paslay" was paid fourteen shillings to go there. In the month of December following, other "sclataris of Paslay" were paid twenty shillings to go to the same place,[4] where a church was in process of erection, to the cost of which the King, on March 9, 1504-5, had contributed

[1] Were they taken from the White Cart? In his description of Renfrewshire, Sibbald (Wishaw, Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew, p. 143), says:—"The most noted peculiar rarity this shire affords is that of pearls, found in the water of White Cart, about Paslay and above it for three miles. Though it be not that considerable that the proprietor of the water and land adjacent claims an interest in them, but every person hath liberty to search for them, yet pearls are not only frequently here found, but of such fineness and magnitude as may be compared with any, except what the Indies afford; and they are transported to other countreys in good parcels, so that Tavernier, the great French jeweller, in his travells to the East Indies, taketh notice of them. . . . The fishing is most in the summer time."

[2] Treas. Accs., ii. 443.

[3] Treas. Accs., iii. 60.

[4] Treas. Accs., iii. 150, 175.

twenty-eight shillings.[1] He was at Whithorn again on July 30, in the same year,[2] but does not appear to have called at Paisley, either going or returning. But on his journey thither in 1506, after looking in upon Lord Ross at Hawkhead,[3] he passed through Paisley and made a donation of twenty shillings to the priest, and another of fourteen shillings to the masons employed on the buildings of the monastery, on April 26.[4] He was at Whithorn in the same year, in the month of August, but not in Paisley.[5] In 1507, the Queen was dangerously ill, and in fulfilment of a vow, "the King, for her recovery went this yeir in pilgrimage, one his foote, to S. Ninian, in Galloway."[6] In July of the same year, both the King and the Queen were in Paisley, and lodged with the abbot. They were on their way to Whithorn to give thanks for the Queen's recovery. On their return they lodged again with the abbot, and remained with him eight days, during which the town would be quite gay. The King, as usual, was liberal in his donations, and the following payments were, among others, made by the treasurer during their two visits:—

Item, the ix day of Julij, in Pasley, to the said Schir Andro [Makbrek] to dispone, - - - iij li.
Item, to ane man to pas fra Pasley to Dunbertane with ane lettir to Andro Bertoun, - - - ijs.
Item, to Andro Horne to pas hame for caus he was sick, xxviijs.
Item, to the masons of Pasley, in drink silver, - - xviijs.

These payments were made as the royal couple were on their way to Whithorn; the following were made on their return, during their eight days' stay in the town:—

Item [the xxiiij day of Julij], to the werkmen in Pasley in drink silver, - - - - - xiiijs.
Item, the xxv day of Julij, in Pasley, to the Kingis offerand to the reliques, - - - - xiiijs.

[1] Treas. Accs., iii. 57.
[2] Treas. Accs., iii. 152.
[3] Treas. Accs., iii. 192.
[4] Treas. Accs., iii. 73, 192.
[5] Treas. Accs., iii. 280.
[6] Balfour, Annals, i. 229.

Item, to the Kingis offerand at the hie mes, - - xiiijs.
Item, the xxvj day of Julij, in Pasley, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone, - - - - iij li.
Item, Sanct Annes day, to the Kingis offerand at the mes, - - - - - - xiiijs.
Item, to the Kingis offerand on the bred, to Sanct Annes lycht,[1] - - - - - xiiijs.

S. Anne was the mother of the Virgin Mary, and the occurrence of her day during the presence of the royal couple in Paisley accounts for the King's handsome offerings at the altar dedicated to her in the abbey church. The Schir Andro Makbrek mentioned more than once in the above extracts from the Treasurers' Accounts, was not one of the priests of Paisley, as has been supposed,[2] but a canon of Dunkeld, a royal chaplain, and the King's almoner. Before the King left Paisley for Inchinnan, there to be "rowit our the watir to Dunbertain," the abbot presented him with two horses. The horses must have been of considerable value, for the King gave the men who brought them twenty-eight shillings as "bridilsilvir."[3]

No Scottish King, it has been said, ever travelled more through his dominions than did James IV. He was always on the move, and went everywhere, sometimes on business, sometimes on pilgrimage, and sometimes on both. His business was to hold justice eyres or courts of justice, where the strict impartiality of his decisions won for him the admiration and affection of his subjects. Speaking of this under the year 1506, Sir James Balfour says: "The King in person holds justice courts in divers parts of the kingdom, wherein to the great joy and contentment of the people, he shows many acts of a prudent King and a wise justiciar, without partiality."[4] One of the places to which he made pilgrimages was, as we have seen, Whithorn, where was the famous shrine

[1] Treas. Accs., iii. 291, 401, 292, 405.

[2] Semple, Second Supplement to S. Mirin, 17; Lees, Abbey of Paisley, 180.

[3] Treas. Accs., iii. 405.

[4] Annals, i. 227.

of S. Ninian, which year by year attracted as many as ten thousand people from all parts of Scotland, Ireland, England, and Wales, as well as from several parts of the Continent.[1] Another shrine which the King visited was that of S. Duthac,[2] in Ross-shire, and one cause of his frequent visits to Paisley, in addition to his friendship for the abbot and its being an easy resting-place on one of the roads to Whithorn, may have been his veneration for the tomb of S. Mirin. When referring to the frequency of his visits to the shrine of S. Duthac, Sir James Balfour adds the remark: "Such a haud had superstition gottin over him."[3] But it may be that there was something more than superstition inciting him: the desire, namely, to appease his conscience, if possible, in the matter of his father's death. It is not unlikely, too, that to some extent his pilgrimages and journeyings were not without political significance. There was a "heavy murmur of the people" with reference to James III.'s death, while abroad it excited no less horror than suspicion, and an Act of Parliament was passed in which there is an evident desire to screen the young King and his accomplices. It is declared in it "that the slauchteris comitit and done in the field of Strivilen quhar our soverane lordis faider happenit to be slain, uthiris, divers his baronis and lieges wes aluterly in thar defalt and colourit dyssate done be him and his perverss counsale divers times befor the said field," and that the King and his true lords and barons that were with him were "innocent quhyt and fre" thereof.[4]

But, whether the King was on business or on religion, he always took care to combine with either a considerable amount of pleasure. His dogs and falcons either preceded or accompanied him, whether he was bent on holding a justice eyre or on a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Mirin or S. Duthac, or to the still more famous shrine in Galloway. His days,

[1] Legends of the Scottish Saints, ii. 325-6, edited by W. M. Metcalfe (S.T.S.).

[2] Treas. Accs., i. 258, 260, 280, etc.; ii. 151, 265, etc.; iii. 60, 173, etc.

[3] Annals, i. 229.

[4] Acta Parl. Scot., ii. 210.

when not engrossed with business or devotion, were given to hunting, hawking, or travelling, while his evenings were filled in with card-playing, chess, and backgammon, or with listening to "clareschaws," or performers on the Irish harp, to fiddlers, pipers, singers, lutars, tabourers or drummers, or to the jests of "Sande fwle," for whom a coat of green and white was provided, or to "Hamilton fwle," or to Curry, who, after 1495, was the Court fool. Sometimes the amusements of the evening were varied by watching the performance of players, "gysaris," or mummers, dancers, "spelaris" or rope dancers, and many were the payments made to these, as is shown by the Lord High Treasurers' Accounts. In March, 1500, twenty-eight shillings were given at Stirling "to the blind lutare" and thirty-six to "Jacob lutar to lows his lute that lay in wed" [pawn]. At Montrose, in October of the same year, fourteen shillings were given to a "brokin bakit [hunch-backed] fithelar." Another "brokin bakit fithelar" was rewarded for his skill at St. Andrews. Among singers, the "crukit vicar of Dumfries" was an especial favourite with the King, and on several occasions entertained him. To "the madenis of Forres that dancit to the King" a reward of nine shillings was given. At Elgin, the same, or another set of "madenis" entertained him. There are references also to certain "Moor lasses," who were probably full-blooded negresses, and, in all likelihood, dancers like the "madinis of Forres and Elgin and Darnaway." It is not unlikely that they were the same that attracted the attention of Dunbar and inspired his poem, "Of ane Blakmoir"—

> "My ladye with the meikle lippis,
> That landet furth of the last schippis." [1]

While at Paisley, James would meet with good sport in the daytime, hunting and hawking in the forests of Paisley and Ferenese or in the wood of Stanely; but in the evenings, though a select party of the nobility and gentry round about

[1] Poems, ii. 201 (S. T. S.).

would in all likelihood be invited to the monastery to do him honour, the abbot does not appear to have engaged either "brokin bakit fithelaris," or dancing "madinis," or "Moorish lasses," or "lutaris," or "speilars." Lord Semple brought his harper, John Haislet, whose performances so pleased the King, in 1504, that he directed a gratuity to be given to him, as we have seen, of fourteen shillings. How the King was entertained during the other evenings he spent at the monastery does not appear.

During all these years, the abbot was in close attendance at the monastery, preparing for the reception of his royal guests and entertaining them, feuing off the land in his burgh, and attending to the other business of the abbey. He sat in the Parliament which assembled in October of the year of Flodden, and was regarded at Court as one of the "saddest and most venerable counsellors." At first the Queen did not trust him, and the English party suspected him. He was a man of mark, however, and the ministers of the English Crown were anxious to win him over to their policy. A George Shaw, one of his own relatives, was in the pay of the English, and was set to watch him, and to do his best to silence his scruples and to win him over to their side. Whether it was the weight of his relative's arguments or the persuasion that it was to his own personal interest—personal interest was then everything—that induced him, are questions with which we need not concern ourselves, but it was not long before Abbot Robert joined the English faction, and became the very good servant of the English Crown. Norfolk wrote to the English ambassador, Dr. Magnus, to make the most of him. "In any wise," he urged, "falle in famyliarte with the abbot of Paslaye, by whom ye shall know most of the secrets." Hals, the English spy, wrote to Norfolk: "The abbot of Pasley beryth very good mynd unto your Grace, by whom I have knolege partely [of] what is done dayley in the Council;" and Magnus told Wolsey that the abbot of Paisley was one of the Scots who were "right good Englisshe men." He appears to have held the office of tutor to the young King, and he and the abbot of Holyrood wrote a joint letter

to Norfolk, in which, after giving an account of the Prince "our maister," they offer to do anything they are able for the English Duke, "to the utmost of our power." [1]

Abbot Robert was no worse and no better than many around him. He was simply following the fashion of the times. They were times of great political corruption and intense personal greed. As might be expected, Abbot Robert had his enemies. A rumour reached him that the Earls of Lennox and Angus intended to take forcible possession of the abbey, and, with two hundred of their followers, to spend the Christmas of 1524 in it. In his anxiety and alarm the abbot had recourse to his friend the English ambassador, Dr. Magnus, who exerted himself to his utmost on his behalf. He wrote to Wolsey, and Wolsey wrote to Angus, with the result that the invasion of the monastery, if it was ever seriously meditated, did not, much to the relief of the abbot, take place. Angus replied to Magnus disclaiming any hostile intention, and saying that neither he nor Lennox would do anything "to the displeasure of my Lord of Paisley," and that nothing should be done to the abbot or his place "bot to his plesur." [2]

In the year 1524, by the death of James Hepburn, the see of Moray became vacant, and the Earl of Arran, who was then in great favour with the Queen, with whom the disposal of the Church benefices then really lay, desired the see for his natural son, John Hamilton, who had entered the Church and was a monk at Kilwinning. Abbot Robert was also a candidate for the see, and as his claims were in every way superior to those of Hamilton, he was appointed. At the same time, Hamilton, the "yonge thing," as Magnus rather contemptuously calls him, was appointed to succeed Robert in the abbey of Paisley. Both appointments, however, required the sanction of the Pope, and as the sanction of the Pope was long in coming, Abbot

[1] The letters referred to are printed by Dr. Lees in the Appendix to The Abbey of Paisley.

[2] See the Appendix referred to above.

Robert became extremely anxious. The Pope seems to have hesitated, as well he might, over the appointment of Hamilton, "he being of tender age and bastard," and for some time declined to approve of either. James V. wrote to Rome on behalf of both appointments, and managed to induce his royal cousin of England to support him. Abbot Robert sought to dissociate his own appointment from that of Hamilton, and wrote a very humble letter to Cardinal Wolsey, begging him to do the best he could for him. His best and most influential friend, however, was probably Magnus, the English ambassador, who wrote on his behalf to Wolsey. In his letter to Wolsey, Magnus said not a word about Hamilton, but pled earnestly for Abbot Robert. "In my most humble and lowly manner," he wrote, "I beseech your grace to be good and gracious towards the advancement of the said abbot's cause. At my repairing into these parts, my Lord of Norfolk advised me to lean to his council, and so I have done ever since my coming hither, and have found not only great comfort of him at all times, but also he hath been the most forward of any man to follow the King's high pleasure, and joins in such causes as have concerned the weal and safety of the young King; wherefore I account myself bound to declare and show unto your grace the goodness of the said abbot." John Clerk, Wolsey's agent in Rome, acknowledged the receipt of the King's letters in recommendation of the two appointments on March 19, 1525, and the Pope's approval was given shortly after. As things went, Shaw's promotion was unexceptional, but Hamilton's, even for the period, was scandalous, though by no means an exception.

CHAPTER XI.

ABBOT JOHN HAMILTON.

At the time of his appointment, the only faults that were urged against the young monk of Kilwinning were that he "was of tendir aige and bastard." His personal character was excellent, and even Knox admits that his reputation for learning and "great fervency and uprightness in religion" was such as to raise the hope that he would become of great use in the Church.

Under the able rule of George and Robert Shaw, the burgh of Paisley had been slowly increasing, while the monastery had risen into note as one of the four places of pilgrimage in Scotland; the others being Melrose, Dundee, and Scone.[1] Other shrines still continued to be visited, but it had become the fashion in Scotland to go the round of these four by way of penance or in the fulfilment of a solemn vow. The effects of this on the town are obvious. Numbers of all classes, and from all parts of the country, were attracted towards it. In the Lord High Treasurers' Accounts of James V. for the year 1533, there is an entry to the effect that the sum of xij s. was paid "to twelve cheplains to say mes for the Kingis grace afoir oure Ladye of Paisley."[2]

For some time after his appointment, Hamilton appears to have taken little or no part in managing the affairs of the monastery. The letting of the lands of the abbey, in October, 1525, was superintended by Alexander Walker, the claustral prior, as the abbot's deputy. In the Register of the monastery[3] there is a commission, dated at the monastery, January 20, 1529-30, drawn up for the purpose

[1] Chambers, Domestic Annals, i. 24.

[2] Treas. Accs., vi. 90.

[3] P. 435.

of appointing certain "noble and powerful men" procurators, bailies, commissioners, etc., for the regality of Paisley; but as the names of these "noble and powerful men" are not inserted, the probability is the commission was never issued. Hamilton would have no difficulty in carrying on the business of the abbey, for from the language of the Rent Roll, it is evident that Walker the claustral prior, had been appointed his deputy.

Hamilton's name appears on the roll of the Parliament of 1535, in which the Act of 1525, prohibiting the introduction into the country of Protestant books, was confirmed. He was also present in Parliament in 1540, and at that held in St. Andrews, according to Keith, in the same year, when Sir John Borthwick was condemned and burnt in effigy. Soon after, having "a fine genius for letters," he went to France, for the purpose, it is said, of pursuing his studies at the university of Paris, and remained abroad three years.

When it was known that he was returning, his arrival was eagerly awaited in Scotland.[1] During his absence many things happened which he can scarcely be supposed to have anticipated when he left. King James V. had died; Cardinal Beaton was in disgrace; the Protestant movement, which, on his departure, seemed to be in a fair way of being suppressed, had more than maintained itself through the advocacy of Knox and the intrigues of Henry VIII. of England; the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue had been permitted by Act of Parliament; his own brother, the Earl of Arran, who had been appointed Governor of the Kingdom, was known to be in favour of the new doctrines, and entertained in his house two of the Protestant preachers, while the only way to gain his favour or to succeed at Court, it was said, was to make profession of the Protestant religion.

In London, Hamilton was cordially received by Henry VIII., and after being fêted for several days, was dismissed with

[1] Writing on April 2, 1543, Sadler asks the Privy Council to move the King to send the abbot of Paisley home, as he is much wanted by his brother, the Governor, "who some think will make him bishop of St. Andrews." Hamilton Papers, i. 497.

rich presents. The object of all this was, of course, to bind him, if possible, to the English interest and to the Reformation or Knoxian party in Scotland. On his journey, he was accompanied by David Panter, and the anxiety with which their arrival was awaited in Scotland, is thus described by Knox:—"The bruit of the learning of the two and their honest lyff and of thare fervency and uprightness in religion was such that great esperance thare was that their presence should have been comfortable to the Kirk of God. For it was constantly affirmed of them that without delay the one and the other of thame wold occupye the pulpit and trewly preach Jesus Christ."[1] These hopes were disappointed. Hamilton at once took sides with the opposite party, and became one of the champions of the ancient Church. His influence at Court was soon apparent. He secured the dismissal of the two Protestant preachers—Thomas Gwylliame and John Rough—from the court,[2] got his brother, the Governor, to renounce his heretical opinions, and reconciled him to Beaton. His energy, in fact, suddenly infused new life into what had previously been a dying cause, and the French party, which was the party of the Church, was soon in the ascendant. Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, notices him again and again as the leading spirit of the Church party, and as the trusted counsellor of the Regent. Writing to Henry VIII. on April 18, 1543, soon after Hamilton's return, he says of the Regent: "Ever since his brother, the abbot of Paisley, came home, he hath been chiefly ruled and counselled by him, who, they assure me, is altogether at the cast of France and the Cardinal's great friend; and whatever they do mind with the Governor to-day, the abbot of Paisley changeth him in the same to-morrow."[3] And a few days later he reports Sir George Douglas as using almost his own words. "The abbot," he saith, "hath been the only cause of the Governor's altera-

[1] Laing's Knox, i. 105.

[2] Sadler, i. 158; Calderwood, Hist. of the Kirk, i. 160.

[3] Sadler, i. 145.

tion; which abbot is all for France and the Cardinal's great friend, and since his coming home, the Governor hath been altogether ruled by him."[1]

To Knox all this was bitterly disappointing, and in his History of the Reformation, he pours out the vials of his wrath upon him. Speaking of Hamilton and Panter he says: "But few days disclosed their hypocrisy; for what terrors, what promises, or what enchanting boxes they brought from France, the common people knew not." Hamilton and his friends he represents as actuated by the lowest motives. They "repaired to Court," he says, "as ravens to the carion." "Their wicked counsel," he adds, led the Regent "so far from God, that he falsified his promises, dipt his hands in the blood of the saints of God and brought this Commonwealth to the very point of utter ruin. And these," he concludes, "were the first fruits of the abbot of Paisley, his godliness and learning."[2]

In the year of his return, Hamilton was appointed by his brother, the Governor, Keeper of the Privy Seal. Shortly afterwards he was promoted to be Lord High Treasurer in room of Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, a distinguished friend of the Reformation. In 1544, Hamilton appears as one of the Senators of the College of Justice. As a member of the Privy Council, his attendance at its meetings was frequent. In 1543-4, the bishopric of Dunkeld became vacant by the death of George Crichton, and the abbot was promoted to it by his brother, acting for the young Queen. It is doubtful, however, whether he was ever installed. His appointment was contested. Robert Crichton, nephew of the former bishop and provost of S. Giles, Edinburgh, claimed the see in virtue of an alleged decree of the Pope, by which the appointment of Hamilton to Dunkeld was made conditional upon Crichton's appointment to Ross, failing which, he was to be bishop of Dunkeld. Ross had been filled up by the appointment of David Panter, the Queen's secretary. Hamilton raised an action against Crichton

[1] Sadler, i. 160. [2] Knox, Hist., i. 105.

in the Court of Session, in which he accused him of barratry at Rome, and gained his case, notwithstanding his opponent's plea that he was a churchman, and the judges temporal judges, and had therefore no jurisdiction in the case. Crichton appealed to Rome, where, on June 8, 1546, the Pope referred the appeal to the adjudication of certain cardinals. Hamilton was styled bishop and abbot[1] in June, 1548, and bishop of Dunkeld as late as May 28, 1549,[2] though some historians give him archiepiscopal rank previous to that date.

When not at Court, Hamilton resided chiefly at his abbey of Paisley. On April 9, 1544, he was entertaining his brother, the Governor, there.[3] The Governor's visit was not one of mere state or ceremony, but was necessitated by the critical state of affairs in the west. The intrigues which the Earls of Angus and Glencairn had for some time been engaged in with Henry VIII., were drawing to a head. As early as April, 1543, Glencairn had offered to lead an English army from Carlisle to Glasgow "without stroak."[4] In the following year, along with Angus, Cassilis, Maxwell, Somerville, and others, he had signed a bond, by which they bound themselves to resist the Regent, and to support the English interest.[5] Subsequently, the subscribers to this bond communicated with Henry, and asked him to send a "main army" into Scotland "for their relief,"[6] and while the Governor was in Paisley they were collecting their forces in the west in order to be ready to co-operate with the expected English army. Writing to the Duke of Suffolk on December 12, 1543, Sadler says that they had intended "for the beginning to take the abbey of Paisley."[7] The time, therefore, had evidently come for action, and on April 9,

[1] Lochwinnoch Papers, ii. 16.

[2] Hamilton MSS., Com. Hist. MSS., Rep. XI., vi. 23. He is styled Archbishop of St. Andrews in a charter by James Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, dated at Edinburgh, July 4, 1549. Com. Hist. MSS., Rep. XI., vi. p. 24.

[3] Com. Hist. MSS., Rep. IV., col. 488. [4] Sadler, i. 156.

[5] Sadler, i. 288. [6] Hatfield MSS., i. 32. [7] Hamilton Papers, ii. 222.

1544, during his visit to Paisley, the Governor issued a commission to the Earl of Argyll, Robert Master of Semple, and others, setting forth that "William Erll of Glencairne being continualie in companie with Matthew Erll of Leven as . . . in all his tressonabill deeds, havand intelligence wyth oure auld innemye of Inglande, now in time of weir, to the gret apperand dampnage and skaith of this oure realme and liegis therof, wythout haisty remeid be put therto." For these reasons the Earl of Argyll and those associated with him in the commission were empowered to charge the keepers of Finlaystone, belonging to the Earl of Glencairn, and in the parish of Kilmacolm, to deliver up the house to be kept in the name of the Queen, and, in the event of their refusal, to invade and pursue the same, "and raise fire gif neid be."[1]

The issue of this commission was intended quite as much for the protection of the abbot and his monastery as for a warning to the conspirators. The following month, the battle of Glasgow was fought, when the cathedral of that city and the abbey of Paisley were, on the defeat of the Governor, seized by Lennox and Glencairn.[2] Their possession of the abbey was not of long continuance. Hamilton soon returned and resumed his residence there.

Within little more than a twelvemonth after the seizure of the abbey, Hamilton took a step which, though at the time eminently prudent, he must have bitterly repented later on. For some time his regality had been without a bailie and justiciar. Abbot George Shaw had appointed John Lord Semple to the office, but apparently only for a period of three years. At any rate, he did not make the appointment permanent.[3] In 1508, his successor, Robert Shaw, called upon Semple to give an account of his intromissions in connection with the office, and refused to acknowledge him any longer as the bailie of the regality. Semple appealed to the King in Council, urging that his tenure of the office was permanent, and asking to be confirmed in it; but the decision given was

[1] Com. Hist. MSS., Rep. IV., col. 488. [2] Hamilton Papers, ii. 396.

[3] Lochwinnoch Papers, i. 92.

against him.[1] In 1530, as we have seen, Abbot Hamilton's intention to appoint certain "noble and powerful men" to be his procurators, bailies, and commissioners within the regality appears not to have been carried out. But since then things had changed. The country had fallen into disorder and was on the verge of anarchy, and Hamilton, in order to protect himself and his monastery against his enemies, and not least, it is probable, against the Earl of Glencairn, the lawlessness of whose character and whose intrigues with the English were well known, had, some time previous to the year 1541, appointed William Lord Semple his bailie, though apparently only temporarily. On April 16, 1545, Hamilton filled up the bailieship permanently. Lord Semple was already bailie of the barony of Renfrew, and the abbot appointed his son, Robert Master of Semple, hereditary bailie and justiciar of the whole lands of the monastery, with the exception of those in Ayrshire. The narrative upon which the instrument of his appointment runs, unless the language is exaggerated, gives a lively description of the times, and shows that the abbot and his monks had already been indebted to the Master of Semple for some very timely help.[2] The stipend was to be three chalders of oatmeal yearly from "our granary," and forty-three shillings and fourpence from the lands of Glen, in the parish of Lochwinnoch. Lord Semple also entered into

[1] Lochwinnoch Papers, i. 91, 92.

[2] "In these days," it says, "the wickedness of men so increases that nothing delights them more than to invade the possessions of monks and to overturn their monasteries; nor had we ourselves been saved from that disaster but for the help of that noble man Robert Semple, Master of the same, the son and apparent heir of William Lord Semple. We who are unwarlike and whom it becomes to abhor arms, have by the same Master been bravely defended with arms not only against the madness of heretics but also against the insults of more powerful tyrants, and unless he continue unweariedly in our defence with his arms, counsel, and assistance, soon nothing at all will remain safe to us. But on our part nothing must be omitted that may tend to our greater security, for according to the old proverb 'To preserve what we have is not less a virtue than to acquire what we have not."—Paisley Chartulary MS., Reg. de Pas., Appendix 2; Lochwinnoch Papers, ii. 7.

an agreement whereby he bound himself, his heirs and successors, to bring the whole power of his family whenever necessary to the defence of the monks and to preserve to them as far as in him lay the enjoyment of their lands and revenues; failing which, the appointment was to become null and void.[1]

The English Government had its spies all over the country, and the task of watching the movements of Hamilton, at least in the West, appears to have been assigned to Stewart of Cardonald. A year after the murder of Cardinal Beaton in St. Andrews, on April 2, 1547, Stewart wrote from Cardonald to his paymasters: "The abbot is going secretly to France to get the King's consent to the Governor's desire to have the Princess, and to get the red hat to himself to be cardinal and the bishopric of Mirepoix. He goes immediately and passes at Dumbarton in one John Holmes' ship, who is a captain come in with two English prizes. He has caused another ship to be very secretly got ready in Leith, but because of the capture of the *Lyon* by the English, I am confidently informed that he starts from Dumbarton; and therefore may easily be taken with diligence." Further, in his letter Stewart points out the places where Hamilton may most easily be caught.[2] The bishopric of Mirepoix referred to was one of the benefices held by the late cardinal. Whether the abbot went to France on this occasion, there is nothing to show; but the probability is that he went; for thirteen days before Stewart made his report,[3] Mary, the Queen, was writing to Edward VI., requesting a safe conduct through England to France for the bishop of Dunkeld, who was "evil vexed with infirmity and continual sickness."[4]

In April, 1548, Hamilton had returned, and attempted the capture of the castle of Broughty Ferry from the English, but was repulsed, and drew off with considerable loss to

[1] Paisley Chartul. MS., Reg. de Pas., App. 3.

[2] Bain, Cal. Scot. Pap., i. 4.

[3] Stewart wrote on April 2, 1547, and Mary on March 20 in the same year.

[4] Bain, i. 2.

Dundee.[1] By July 4, in the following year, he had been appointed archbishop of St. Andrews and primate of Scotland, the see of St. Andrews having, it appears, remained vacant, not, as has been sometimes asserted, for six months after the murder of Beaton, but for three years.[2] From this time Hamilton is known chiefly by the title of archbishop, but, as he retained the abbey, he continued for some years to be known by his former title as well.

With the murder of Cardinal Beaton the struggle between the Catholics and the Protestants became more pronounced and embittered. The day for compromise had gone. Henceforth one or the other must go down. By his appointment to the primacy, Hamilton became the acknowledged leader of the Catholics, and was directly pitted against Knox. Each fought with determination; Hamilton apparently with coolness, Knox with all the passion of a zealot, ever ready to think and speak for the Almighty. Hamilton's primacy was stained by the execution of two individuals for heresy, one of them a decrepit priest of the name of Mill, who was eighty-two years of age. The best that can be said in defence of Hamilton is that he acted according to his light. To burn people for their opinions was a fashion of the times. Knox, if he had had the power, would in all probability, like Calvin, have done the same. One thing which Hamilton saw clearly was that among the people the hostility to the Old Church was due in a large measure to the ignorance and corrupt lives of

[1] "The Abbot of Paisley brought hither 2 anseynes of Frenchmen from Jedworth to scale the fort, and all his Fife adherents—in all, French and Scots, as I esteemed, 2000 foot and 500 horse—the last to keep the passage between the fort and the castle and prevent us sending powder 'from benethe.' I fired 2 demi-barrels of powder in the dykes, when the Scots gave a 'sodenne showte,' but on giving 'the sawt,' they strove who should come first, and not being agreed, thought better to 'retyre agayne with wett cotes thenn to clemme wallys.' So 'my lord of Dunkelles lordeschypp' was much ashamed at the failure, and I sent him such a 'moccke' the same morning by drum to Dundee that his 'spryituall patyence" was much offended."—Sir John Luttrell to Somerset. Bain, Cal. Scot. Pap., i. 113.

[2] Ham. MSS., Com. Hist. MSS., XI. vi. 8.

the clergy. His own life was by no means an example of chastity, nevertheless he threw himself with zeal into the work of reforming the scandalous condition of the Church. Immediately after his enthronement at St. Andrews, he proceeded to Linlithgow and held there, as the plague was raging in Edinburgh, a provincial council of the Scottish clergy. Three months later, a council was again held in the Blackfriars church in Edinburgh, when sixty of the superior clergy attended. Conspicuous among them was the commendator of the priory of St. Andrews, a youth of eighteen, little dreaming then that before many years were over he would be the leader of the Reformation, which the council was met to oppose, and Regent of the kingdom. The statutes passed at Linlithgow were approved, and others added to them.

Eighteen months later, another provincial council was held. From its records it appears that the above mentioned statutes had not taken effect, and provision was made for their immediate enforcement. Some new statutes were enacted, one of which provided for the teaching of theology and another for preaching to the people. Other statutes were directed against clandestine marriages and the alienation of manses and glebe lands. One sets forth that even in the most populous parishes, few of the parishioners attended mass or sermon; that in time of service, jesting and irreverence went on within the church, and sports and secular business in the porches and churchyards, and therefore enacts that the name of any person wilfully absenting himself from the parish church should be taken down by the curate and be reported to the rural dean, and forbids all traffic in church porches, in churchyards, and in the immediate neighbourhood of churches on Sundays and other holidays during divine worship.

To make up for the ignorance and the lack of preaching power among the clergy, Hamilton sanctioned the use of what in reality is a series of short homilies explaining the Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Sacraments, and the Lord's Prayer, but which, because he bore the expense of its publication, is usually known as Archbishop

Hamilton's Catechism. It is written in the vernacular, and is evidently the work of more than one hand. While skilfully avoiding all controversy, it sets forth in plain, forcible, and often picturesque terms the doctrines of the Catholic Church. As an example of the vernacular of the time, it is decidedly superior to Knox's History of the Reformation, and may rank as one of the best of its kind. It was issued to all vicars and curates, and as much of it as would occupy half an hour was to be read to the people from the pulpit when there was no sermon, every Sunday and holiday, with a loud voice, clearly, distinctly, impressively, solemnly by the rector, vicar, or curate, in his surplice and stole. The clergy were enjoined to practice the reading of it daily, lest their stammering or breaking down should move the jeers of the people. Though issued for the instruction of the laity, the clergy were not to put it into lay hands, except by permission of the Ordinary. Nor was anyone hearing it read in church to raise a controversy there respecting it.

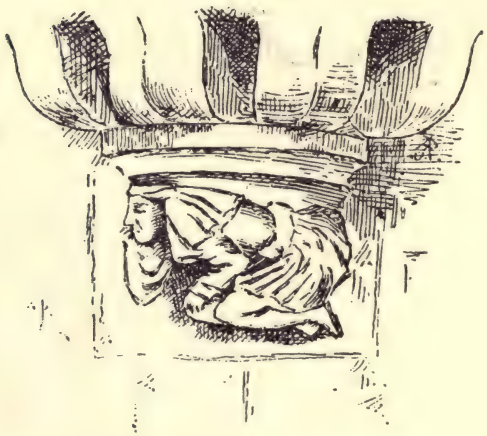
For the revival of learning among the clergy, Hamilton completed the College of S. Mary at St. Andrews, which had been left unfinished by his two predecessors in the see, James and David Beaton, and largely endowed it out of the episcopal revenues.[1]

His attempts at reformation, however, were ineffectual. They came too late. Perhaps he saw this; for in 1553 he resigned the abbacy of Paisley in favour of his nephew, Claud Hamilton, a child of seven. The bull by which this deed was sanctioned by Julius III., is dated December 9, 1553, and states that the boy's age was fourteen; but according to another account he was only seven.[2] According to the bull by Julius, printed by Dr. Lees in his *Abbey of Paisley*, the archbishop was to administer the temporal and spiritual affairs of the abbey until his nephew reached the age of twenty-three years. In the event of the prelate dying

[1] Statuta Eccl. Scot., Preface, pp. cxlix. ff.

[2] Bain, i. 344, where, in 1560, he is said to be fourteen years old. This would make him seven in 1553.

before that time, the claustral prior of the abbey was to take charge of them. The fortunate youth, after deducting one-fourth of the revenues of the abbey if he kept a separate establishment, or a third if he lived in the monastery, for the maintenance of the fabric, the purchase of ornaments for the abbey church and for the relief of the poor, was to retain the rest for himself. The whole revenues were valued at 600 golden florins in the Roman Camera, and the three-fourths or two-thirds of them, as the case might be, were put at the disposal of a boy of seven, who had not even assumed one of the minor orders, and was told that the handsome gift had been bestowed upon him on the petition of "our beloved son, the Duke of Chastelherault, Regent of the Kingdom and Guardian of our beloved daughter in Christ, that illustrious minor, Mary Queen of Scots, by whom your moral life and other qualifications have been highly extolled to us"!



CHAPTER XII.

THE REFORMATION AND THE ABBEY.

So far, the abbey and its lands had suffered no material injury at the hands of those who were anxious to "invade the possessions of monks and to destroy their monasteries." Abbot Hamilton and his bailie, Robert Master of Semple, appear to have been powerful enough to warn off all who were disposed to disturb them. But the times were growing more threatening. On July 26, 1555, Matthew Stewart of Barscube and others, twelve persons in all, armed in warlike manner, came to the monastery of Paisley "by way of hamesuikin," and there assaulted John Hamilton, son of John Hamilton of Ferguslie, "grynter" of Paisley.[1] This was probably merely a piece of private revenge, but it illustrates the disorder and wildness of the times. The same year that this happened, Knox returned from Geneva, and the following year, forsaking the congregation he had formed in Scotland, he went back to Geneva. The "Congregation" was established on December 3, 1557, and eighteen months later, May 2, 1559, Knox landed at Leith, this time to stay. On the tenth of that month, the Lords of the Congregation, who were to have assembled in Stirling, met at Perth, and on the following day, Knox preached in the parish church of S. John. The result is well known to every reader of Scottish history. The religious houses, whose number and splendour had won for Perth the appellation of "the Fair City,"[2] were reduced to ruins. This was only the beginning. Similar outrages were perpetrated at Cupar of Fife, at Crail and Anstruther,

[1] Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, i. *382.

[2] Leslie, Hist., ii. 401 (S. T. S.); Bellesheim, Hist. of Cathol. Ch. in Scot., ii. 266.

at St. Andrews, at the abbey of Lindores, and at the monastery of Balmerino. Writing on September 27, in the same year, Sadler told Cecil that a commission had been given to the Earl of Glencairn and the Laird of Dun "to suppress the abbey of Paisley."[1] Two days later he reported that he had been told by Whitelaw that the Reformers had suppressed the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline.[2] Whether much or any damage was actually done to the abbey of Paisley at the time, is not known. Whitelaw, who was a messenger employed to go between Knox and Sadler, had just arrived by sea, and his report may have been, and probably was, based upon nothing more than gossip. Anyhow, the "suppression" of the abbey of Paisley, though near, was not yet.

To the Catholic Church in Scotland, the year 1560 was disastrous. To Hamilton it was the beginning of the end. In the beginning of February, "a faythefull chaplayne and a paynfull" of his, named Sir Andrew Oliphant, who, at Hamilton's request, had followed the French in Fife, was taken with a list of those in Fife whom the archbishop had named to be saved from spoiling. A few days later, the archbishop was greatly disheartened, and desired "some poor place to retire to." But after staying with the Queen Dowager for a short time, he seems to have recovered his wonted spirit. On June 21, Randolph wrote to Killegrew: "We think to see next Sunday the Lady Stanehouse, by whom the bishop of St. Andrews has had 'withowte shame' five or six children, openly repent herself," *i.e.*, before the congregation in the church of S. Giles, Edinburgh. In July Hamilton was in Paisley, where "he has had his 'privat masse' since he came;" and "perseveres," Randolph goes on to inform Cecil, "a sore enemy to this cause, as much as he is able to do with his 'tonge,' for otherwise he has not much wherewith" to do. On August 15, Hamilton was in Edinburgh, where he dined with the Duke, who had great hopes of winning him round. Two days later, Parliament met and adopted Knox's Confes-

[1] State Papers, i. 465. [2] State Papers, i. 468.

sion of Faith. Hamilton was present, but made no strenuous opposition to it, excusing himself on the ground that he was not ready to give an opinion, because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the book. But when he saw how completely the Reformers intended to destroy the old Church, he ventured to remonstrate and counsel moderation. But the day of moderation was past; nothing, as he was about to learn, was now likely to prevail except passion and force. On August 24, the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland was formally abolished, and to say or hear mass was made a criminal offence, punishable on the first occasion by confiscation of goods, on the second with banishment, and on the third with death. Three days later Hamilton was deprived of his livings.[1] In October, there was a rumour that he was "like to become a good Protestant," though "my Lord of Arran is not so easy of belief, that he will credit much before he see some token of heartier repentance, than I can think will proceed out of so dissembled a heart."[2]

The east country soon became too hot for Hamilton, and he fled for refuge to Paisley. There, at least, he was among staunch friends—all firm adherents of the old Church—to whom his presence was welcome. But his enemies were not long in finding him out. Within a few months the Earl of Glencairn, attended by a rabble, swept into the town, and, failing to lay hold of the archbishop, set the abbey on fire, and thus consummated the work which, according to Whitelaw, had been begun some months before. Of the final ruin of the abbey there is but one account. As a historian, Knox is not always to be trusted, but on a matter of this sort, which, according to some, was entirely to his taste, he may. Anyhow, his description of the event is as follows:—"The Lords of the Secret Council made an Act that all places and monuments of idolatry should be destroyed, and for that purpose were directed to the West the Earl of Arran, having joined with him the Earl of Glencairn, together

[1] Bain, i. 310, 313, 322-3, 430, 452, 461, 465, 474.

[2] Grange to Randolph, Bain, i. 486.

with the Protestants of the West, who burnt Paisley. The bishop of St. Andrews, who was abbot, narrowly escaped." Crosraguel, the daughter house of Paisley, was burnt during the same sacrilegious raid.

As soon as Glencairn left Paisley, Hamilton returned. The denunciations of Parliament against those who said or heard mass he treated with indifference, if not with contempt. At Easter, 1563, there was an attempt on the part of the Catholics, in many places throughout the country, to celebrate the festival with something of the old pomp. Paisley was one of these places, and the archbishop was soon called to account. On May 19, he was arraigned before the Earl of Argyll, as hereditary Lord Justice General, in the Court of Session. Scant courtesy was shown him. He was compelled to take his place in the dock as an ordinary criminal. Knox, who had carefully warned Argyll not to be absent on that day, gloated over the incident. "A meary man," he wrote, "who now sleeps in the Lord, Robert Norwell," instead of the bishop's cross "bair befoir him a steyle hammer, whairat the Bischope and his band was not a lytill offended, becaus the Bishoppis priviledges war not then currant in Scotland."[1] The bishop and his band, of whom there were thirteen, were indicted for "convocation of His Highness's lieges in the month of April last by past in the town of Paisley, kirk, kirkyard, chalmeris, barns, middings, and killogeis [kilns] thereof; and there through making alteration and innovation in the state of religion which our Sovereign Lady found publickly standing and professed at Her Majesty's arrival within this realm aforesaid, ministering and abusing irreverently and indecently the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus otherwise and after another order than the public and general order of this realm was the time of the Queen's Majesty's arrival foresaid."[2] The penalty was death; but the archbishop and his associates came under the will of the Queen, and were ordered to be imprisoned in various places. The archbishop

[1] History, ii. 379-80.

[2] Pitcairn, i. 429.

was put in ward in Edinburgh castle. According to Knox, his imprisonment was not severe. "The Lady Erskine (a sweet morsel for the devil's mouth)," he says, "gat the bishops for her part."[1]

In July, William Semple of Thirdpart, Renfrewshire, and Michael Naismyth of Posso, became sureties for the archbishop,[2] and he was set free. In 1566, he baptised the Queen's son, James VI., at Stirling castle, according to the ritual of the Roman Church, to the great scandal of the Reformers. The same year he was restored to the consistorial rights he had possessed as archbishop of St. Andrews, and one of his first acts was to divorce Bothwell from his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, in order that he might be free to marry the Queen; but, on the representation of Moray, the grant of jurisdiction was revoked.[3] Later on, he was re-appointed one of the Lords of the Articles, and was soon the leading spirit of the Hamilton party. His name appears on the Dumbarton bond,[4] and he took an active part in furthering the Queen's escape from Loch Leven castle. At the coronation of James VI., July 29, 1567, he refused to be present.[5] After the Queen's escape from Loch Leven castle, he was by her at Langside, and is said to have strenuously urged her not to trust herself to Elizabeth.[6] At Langside, two of his sons were taken.[7] After the battle he fled to Dumbarton castle, where he wrote to Elizabeth demanding the release of Mary, and to the Duke of Alva asking for help against the English Queen.

When Parliament met in August, Hamilton was forfeited, and his abbey given to his bailie, Lord Semple, who, in the meantime, had gone over to the Protestants, doubtless with

[1] History, ii. 380. At the same time Randolph was writing to Cecil:—"Your honour will take it a great wonder when I write that 'Mr. Knox shall marie a verie nere kynsewoman of the Dukis, a lordis daughter, a yonge lass not above xvj yeres of age'! I rather think that you will laugh at my madness to write so unlikely a matter than believe it true." Bain, i. 680. Knox would then be near sixty.

[2] Pitcairn, i. 429. [3] Bain, ii. 310. [4] Bain, ii. 339. [5] Bain, ii. 370.

[6] Nau, Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots, 128-9. [7] Bain, ii. 405.

the expectation of improving his fortunes. But the archbishop, though deprived of his property and outlawed, still showed a bold front. When the regent was assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, he was one of those, it is said, who received the assassin with congratulations. In the confusion which ensued he came to Paisley, and took possession of the abbey. In a letter which he wrote to Queen Elizabeth during the closing days of his life, the archbishop describes the place as deserted, and speaks touchingly of "trew service done for my Prince and Realme." The place he was accused of violating, he says, "wes my awne place; it can be na breking nor violating thairof, in respect the place is my awne and hes had it thir [these] forty-five yeires. My said Place of Paslay was standing waist [empty], and na man in it, but onlie ane boy that had the key of the yeit" [gate]. His servants, he adds, did no violence, and the Lord Semple that had "usurped" the place, "was content I had my awne place." That the Place was taken without violence is borne out by a statement made to Cecil by Sir William Drury;[1] but it is doubtful whether Semple was "content" that the archbishop should have "his own." On February 15, the regent, Lennox, with Semple's friends and a great force, passed to Paisley, and laid siege to the abbey. On the 17th the defenders of the place surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared; but the condition was not observed. Thirty of them were, on March 7, ruthlessly hanged, on the Easter Burgh Muir of Glasgow, while several of the rest were put in prison.

But the tragic end of the archbishop was drawing near. On April 2, the castle of Dumbarton was taken by treachery, and the archbishop, who had fled to it for safety, fell into the hands of his enemies. Two days later he was conveyed, along with Fleming of Boghall, to the castle of Stirling, where, on the seventh of the month, he was arraigned before Lord Ruthven, the Lord Justice-Clerk, and Mr. George Buchanan, the famous scholar and pensioner of Crosraguel.

[1] Lees, Abbey of Paisley, Appendix, pp. xxxii., xxxiii.

Charged with the murder of the King (Lord Darnley), the murder of the late Regent, the taking of Stirling castle with the King at the time of the Regent's murder, and with lying in wait for the Regent at Callendar wood, near Falkirk, he pled not guilty, and protested his innocence. A priest, Sir Thomas Robeson, sometime schoolmaster in Paisley, testified that a certain John Hamilton, called Black John, a servant of the archbishop, had in his deathbed confession stated to him that he was present on the occasion of the King's murder at the command of his master, the archbishop. The archbishop, however, continued to deny that he was at all privy to the King's death. Later in the day he admitted that he knew about the Regent's murder and that he did nothing to prevent it, but rather promoted it. He was found guilty, and "as the bell struck at six hours at even, he was hangit at the Mercat Cross of Stirling upon the jebat,[1] on the which was written these verses—

> 'Cresce felix arbor, semperque vireto
> Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.'"[2]

There were some in Stirling, however, who sympathised with the hapless archbishop and deplored his fate; and at the dead of night these other lines were posted up on the door of the town church:—

> "Infelix pereas arbor, si forte virebis
> Imprimis utinam carminis author eas."[3]

After the execution, the body of the archbishop was quartered, but his mangled remains are said to have been carried by his friends to Paisley, and there interred. In the abbey church is a tablet which looks as if it had once marked

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, 204.

[2] "Grow long, happy tree, and ever let thy leaves be green
That thou mayest bear such fruit for us."

[3] "Perish, thou wretched gallows tree,
Or if, perchance, thou flourish should,
That rhymester vile, I pray to God,
May quickly find his way to thee."

his grave. Upon it are the archbishop's armorial bearings, the letters—his initials—J. H., and the motto he adopted, "Misericordia et Pax."

Archbishop Hamilton was unquestionably an able man. His efforts to reform the Church were well conceived and directed, and such that, if they had been applied at an earlier date, they might have broken the fierceness of the storm which afterwards fell upon the ancient Church; but they were made too late. The morality of the times was not great. His own, which, owing to his exalted position in the Church, ought to have been without reproach, was conspicuous for its shamelessness. He lived in open concubinage with Lady Gilston, second wife of Hamilton of Stenhouse, lord provost of Edinburgh, and eldest daughter of his bailie, Robert Lord Semple; and other things of the same kind are told about him. It has to be remembered, however, that almost all the accounts we have of him are from the hands of his enemies, by whom he was thoroughly hated. But, making all allowance for party feeling and personal antipathy, it is impossible to acquit him of the charge of practising a morality unbecoming his high position and altogether indefensible.

During the lifetime of Archbishop Hamilton, not only did Glencairn and Lennox lay waste the abbey buildings, including the church, with all the accumulated splendour which Abbot Tervas and others had painfully collected in order to increase the glory and impressiveness of its services; much of the property of the monastery was alienated both from the monastery itself and from religion. Hamilton as well as the Government had a hand in this. By the appointment of his nephew to be commendator, the whole of the property and revenues of the abbey, with the exception of the fourth or third of the latter, according as he kept a separate establishment or lived in the monastery, was alienated from the service of religion, and became the property of the commendator. In 1552, the year before the appointment of the commendator, the archbishop had begun to part with portions of the property of the monastery, and

continued to do so up to his latest years, probably with a view to providing the means for maintaining the conflicts in which he was engaged. In the year mentioned, he gave the church of Carmunnock to the Duke of Chatelherault, "in consideration of his rooting out and extirpation of heretics raging in this wicked time, and his defence of ecclesiastical liberty and the ministers of the Church of God."[1] Among other properties he alienated, chiefly for "large sums of money," were Rockbank, the church lands of Eastwood and the lands of Auldhouse, Nether Gallowhills and Knaiffisland, Merksworth and Carriagehill, the lands of Auchengowan, Jaffraystak, Brediland, Granes in Cunningham and part of the monastery's property in the Lennox.[2] Granes and the Lennox property—Barnes, Easter and Wester Cullbay—went to Gavin Hamilton of Raploch, commendator of Kilwinning.

In 1560, the Roman clergy of all ranks and classes were disestablished, but by no means disendowed. The same year Knox and his associates proposed that the whole of the endowments of the ancient Church should be used for the maintenance of the Protestant Church, for the support of universities, schools, and hospitals, and for the poor and sick. This was regarded as little better than a devout imagination, and after the arrival of Mary, in 1561, steps were taken towards a very different arrangement. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Ross, Moray, and Dunkeld, offered for themselves in the first place, but virtually for the whole of the Catholic clergy, to surrender one-fourth of their revenues, on condition that they should be allowed to retain the remaining three-fourths in sure and guaranteed possession. The convocation which met in Edinburgh, on December 22, 1561, to consider and determine the matter, after adjourning to the following February, in order to allow of returns being made respecting the value of all the benefices in the kingdom, ordained practically that "one-third of the whole rents and

[1] Com. Hist. MSS., XI. vi. 49.

[2] Reg. M. S., 1546-80, pp. 421, 540, 541, 543, 537, 578, 760, 831; Com. Hist. MSS., Rep. VIII. 309a; XI. vi. 49.

revenues of the old Church should be confiscated for the joint purposes and needs of the Crown, and the sustentation of the Protestant Church," and that the other two-thirds should be left with the "auld possessouris." Knox curtly stigmatized this arrangement as "Two-thirds to the Devil and one-third between God and the Devil." The ordinance ruled that the arrangement should become operative "from this last crop of the year of God, 1561," and collectors were appointed to gather in the third for the Crown and Kirk.

The return for the abbey of Paisley gives the whole money value as £2,467 19s.; the meal, 72 chalders, 36 bolls, $3\frac{2}{3}$ firlots; the bear, 40 chalders, 11 bolls; the horse corn, 43 chalders, 1 boll, 1 firlot great mete; the cheese, five hundred and five score and six stones. Among the items of deduction stated are 7 chalders of meal yearly for the almoner's weekly doles to the poor; £473 8s. 4d. for the yearly maintenance of the convent in kitchen expenses and clothes, according to the accounts of the cellarer and granitar; for the fees of the granitar, cellarer, and their servants, £38; for the archbishop's claim for procurations, now converted into money, £13 6s. 8d.; and for the contribution to the Lords of Session and pensions settled upon the abbey, £550 2s. 8d.[1] The first collector for the thirds was Michael Chisholm, who was appointed by Lord Semple.[2]

[1] Innes, Orig. Paroch., i. 70.

[2] Lochwinnoch Papers, i. 65.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COMMENDATOR.

Lord Claud Hamilton, when appointed commendator of the abbey of Paisley, as already remarked, was a child of seven years. When fourteen, he was sent as a hostage to England, At the time, he was "nocht in ordours but ane scolar," and it is doubtful whether he ever was in orders, though he was often styled "abbot." In 1568, he had returned to Scotland, and on May 8 in that year he signed the bond as one of the Queen's adherents. In arranging the Queen's escape from Loch Leven castle he took a leading part, and on the night of her escape he accompanied her with twenty horse to Niddry, the seat of Lord Seton, whose daughter he afterwards married.[1] At Langside. he was with the rest of the Hamiltons in the vanguard, which he is said to have commanded.[2] When all was lost on that disastrous field, he fled with Mary to Dumfries, and was one of the little band who landed with her at Workington. He accompanied her to Carlisle, and, during her detention in the castle, he remained in the city at his own charges, in order to be at hand to render her any service he could. On the Queen's refusal to move to Bolton, though Fleming and Maxwell were allowed to return to Scotland, Lord Claud, on attempting to set out, was detained; but afterwards, as the Queen, who had changed her mind, was on her way to Bolton, he was despatched by her to Scotland to assure her party that she was "removing of her own good will," and that "they should still have conference with her." This was in July, 1568. A month later, Lord Claud was forfeited, and

[1] Bain, Cal. Scot. Papers, i. 344, 596, 598; ii. 403, 404, 405.

[2] Nau, Memoirs, 93.

his estates were given, as we have seen, to his bailie, Lord Semple. In October of the same year, he surprised and took Hamilton castle, which was then in the possession of the Semples, but failed in his attempt to seize the house of Draffen. The following February found him in attendance upon the Queen at Tutbury In August, 1569, Hundson reported to Cecil a rumour that Lord Claud was to marry the Regent's wife's sister, "which," he adds, "will be cutting the Regent's throat."[1]

After the execution of Archbishop Hamilton, the commendater took part in the conflict between the Hamilton and the Lennox factions. He is specially named as conspiring to waylay and slay the Regent Lennox as he passed from Stirling to Edinburgh, and was shortly afterwards declared a traitor. In the beginning of the year 1571, he was making war upon the Semples, and on the 17th of the month, along with John Hamilton of Drumry, son of the archbishop, Arthur Hamilton of Mirrtoun, and others of that name, he came with a strong force to Paisley and seized and garrisoned the abbey and place, a proceeding to which Lord Semple, to whom the abbey and place then belonged, is said to have consented. In June of the same year he had got Lord Semple in his power, and placed him as a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh. He sat in the Parliament which met at Edinburgh a few days later (June 13) as "Claude Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, allowed by the Pope sixteen years past." On August 24, Drury, writing from Edinburgh, reports to Lord Burghley that "Lord Claude Hamilton, early on Wednesday morning, came into the town from Hamilton with 200 horse. He was one of the leaders in the surprise of Stirling on September 3, 1571. With his followers, he rushed through the streets of the town crying this slogane, 'Ane Hamilton, God and the Queen! Think on the bishop of St. Andrews.'" The object was apparently to avenge the death of the archbishop, to whom Claud was greatly attached. In the con-

[1] Bain, Cal. Scot. Papers, ii. 408, 422, 451, 457, 460, 462, 479, 516, 626, 666; Act. Parl. Scot., iii. 45.

fusion, the Regent was fatally shot in the back by a certain Captain Calder, who, when put to the torture, stated that he had received orders to shoot him from the Lord of Paisley.[1]

In the fighting which followed, Lord Claud took an active part. With the intention of winning back his estates from the hands of his usurping bailie, he came to the neighbourhood of Paisley, and as Lord Semple "was upon the 10th day of July [1572] passing furth to have reft sum pure tennentis Lord Claud set on him, chaissit him bak, slew 42 of his soldiers, tuik 15 of thame as prisoners, and thairefter layit men about the hous sa lang, till a grit power was cum forth of another pairt to preserve the Lord Semple."[2]

By the pacification of Perth, which was ratified by Parliament, February 23, 1573, and brought a gleam of peace to the country, Lord Claud was unexpectedly restored to his possessions. His forfeiture was recalled, and Lord Semple was directed to give over to him the estates of the monastery. That nobleman, however, declined to do so, when the abbey was besieged and taken by the Earl of Argyll in the King's name, and Lord Semple got six days in which "to transport himself and his geir." On August 1, Lord Claud married the daughter of Lord Seton "at Niddrie, with great triumph," and took up his abode in the abbey of Paisley. Here children were born to him, and for a time he lived in peace. But embarking once more on the stormy sea of politics, the Regent Morton, his bitter enemy, used his influence against him, and he was again forfeited and his posterity disinherited. Along with others, Morton was commissioned "to search for and administer justice to him," and Paisley was again besieged. This time there was no resistance. In 1579, the abbey was surrendered to the Master of Glencairn; but the "abbot was not in his strength, but conveyed himself quietly to sic pairt as no man knows."[3]

[1] Bain, Cal. Scot. Papers, iii. 295, 297, 464, 602, 665, 679, 685, 686, 687, 700-1.; Hist. K. James the Sexth, 146; Calderwood, Hist., iii. 140.

[2] Hist. K. James the Sexth, 176.

[3] Act. Parl. Scot., iii. 125, 129, 137, 159; Moyses' Memoirs, 22.

The lordship of Paisley now passed from hand to hand with a rapidity characteristic of the disordered condition of the country. Immediately on Lord Claud's forfeiture, Lord Cathcart, Master of the King's Household, received a lease of the temporalities of the abbey. In the same year, they appear to have been given to John Earl of Mar, who appointed his nephew, William Erskine, parson of Campsie, his chamberlain. Anyhow, on September 24, 1579, Erskine, as chamberlain of the abbey of Paisley, complained to the Privy Council that he had been interfered with by Andrew Master of Semple in the execution of his office, and in the collection of the dues of the tenants, and the Council ordered that he be allowed to receive all the duties unpaid or to be paid, conform to his letter of chamberlainry and factory, till Lord Semple, who claimed to be infeft in the lands, and to have right to the rents, had established his claim before the ordinary judges.[1] Two months later, November 20, 1579, the King, with the consent of the Privy Council, granted a charter under the great seal to his "domestic servitor," William Erskine, rector of Campsie, appointing him commendator and conveying to him for his lifetime the monastery, place, and abbey of Paisley, with the lands and lordships belonging thereto.[2] An Act of the Privy Council, dated February 14, 1579-80, shows that the grant was made under the burden of an annual payment of 4000 merks for the furnishing of the King's house so long as Erskine remained possessor and titular of the abbey.[3] By a subsequent charter, dated April 30, 1580, the King relieved Erskine of the obligation to pay the 4000 merks yearly,[4] and in 1581-2 recalled as prejudicial to himself and the commendator, his confirmation of a tack of nineteen years, granted by Lord Claud Hamilton while commendator, to Robert Dalziel of that Ilk, of the teind sheaves of Culbowie and Barnes in the parish of Kilpatrick.[5]

[1] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 219, 220.

[2] Reg. Mag. Sig., iii. 803 (No. 2922). [3] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 267.

[4] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 285. [5] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 454-5.

Along with his relative, the Earl of Mar, Erskine took part in the raid of Ruthven, and his name appears in the sederunt of the Privy Council in October, 1582. But shortly after the King's escape, he was ordered to enter into ward in the castle of Blackness. On December 2 following, he was relaxed and received the wand of peace.[1] Subsequently he was imprisoned in the castle of Doune, in Menteith, and a bond of caution for £10,000 was granted by Erskine of Dun, Stirling of Keir, and Murray of Tullibardine, that within three days after being released from the castle, he should enter into ward in Renfrewshire.[2] When the raiders re-asserted themselves and seized Stirling castle and town, Erskine was with them, and on May 10, he was charged to surrender the abbey, place, and fortalice of Paisley.[3] On the following day, he and others were charged to leave the kingdom by June 1, and not to return to Scotland under pain of death.[4] When Parliament met in August, Angus, Mar, and Erskine were condemned on a charge of treason, and had their posterity disinherited.[5] These disabilities, however, were removed on the overthrow of Arran, in November, 1585, and on the return to power of those who had promoted the raid, Erskine was appointed archbishop of Glasgow.[6] Though a layman who "bare no charge in the Church," he was a favourite, and the Presbytery of Glasgow admitted him to be archbishop; but the General Assembly of the Kirk, at its meeting on June 20, 1587, unanimously held his admission to be illegal, and ordered the Presbytery to annul it before the following Michaelmas. After this, Erskine appears to have retired to Campsie.[7]

Meantime, Lord Claud had been a fugitive. For a time he lurked in various places in Scotland; but in 1580 he was in England, at Alnwick, interviewing Forster, Elizabeth's

[1] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 613.
[2] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 623.
[3] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 663.
[4] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 664.
[5] Acta Parl. Scot., iii. 332-34.
[6] Reg. M. S., iv. 290 (No. 903).
[7] Spottiswood, Hist., ii. 375; Calderwood, iv. 615-638; Reg. of Privy Council, iv. 191, 266.

agent, and desirous of placing himself on her side.[1] In January, 1583, he appears to have rejected the overtures of Lennox for a reconciliation, and was evidently living at the charge of Elizabeth. At the same time, he had been told "that those that have his 'lyvinge' would gladly see him back as a friend to enjoy his own again." "He will only agree to this," Forster reports, "by Her Majesty's [Elizabeth's] means."[2] On April 27, 1584, "the Abbot of Persley," with a number of others, amongst whom were the Earls of Angus and Mar, appeared before the town of Wark and asked to be received into it.[3] Between this and April 9 of the following year (1585), Lord Claud was in Scotland, but again fortune was against him, for on the last-mentioned date, Wodryington informs Walsingham that the "King hath commanded the Lord Claud Hamilton and some other of his name and friends to pass forth of Scotland into France," and "hath sett him down a peremptory day, at the which or before, he must depart forth of his realm." He also reports that the King has given Lord Claud a sum of money, "but how much I knowe not," and commanded him after his departure to return neither to England, Ireland, nor Scotland. The King's anger was soon over, for in the following February, Lord Claud was in Edinburgh, and Scrope writes to Walsingham on the 9th of the month: "The Lord Gloyde Hamilton, as it is thought, shall be made Chancellor." No such honour awaited him; but his reception by the King must have been extremely agreeable. "At the Lord Gloiedes arryevald at the Court," writes Selby to Wasingham, "having spoken with the King err [before] ever he had his bottes of [boots off], he went from thence to the yong Dukis lodging." He was suspected by the English of French tendencies. From the Lennox party he held steadily aloof, and opposed the marriage of his niece with the Duke.[4] The King "freended" him and Angus, and in return he became a strong supporter

[1] Bain, Cal. Border Papers, i. 26. [2] Bain, i. 93.
[3] Bain, i. 134. [4] Bain, 179, 220, 221, 234.

of the King. Erskine was forfeited in 1584, and in the following year Claud was once more in Paisley.

On May 3, 1586, with the reservation of his life-rent, he resigned the abbey lands into the hands of Sir John Seton; and, on the 31st of the same month, a charter of Provision and Nomination was passed under the Great Seal in favour of Claud Hamilton, his second son, to be commendator of the abbey. On July 29, 1587, an Act was passed in Parliament "whereby there were annexed to the Crown all lands and others then belonging to any ecclesiastical or beneficed person, with certain exceptions therein enumerated." The exceptions were few, but the temporality of Paisley was one of them.[1] Early on the morning of the same day, the King had executed a charter whereby Lord Claud was infeft in all the temporalities of the abbey and made a Lord of Parliament, with the title of Lord Paisley.[2] After this, "Stern Claud," as he was sometimes called, gradually withdrew from politics, though he was strongly suspected of Spanish tendencies, and, settling down to a quiet life in Paisley, busied himself for a time with watching over the affairs of the town, as we shall see further on. In the next chapter we must turn back and give some account of the town itself.

[1] Or rather, was intended to be. By some mistake or oversight, the words "town of Paisley" were inserted in the Act. An amending Act was subsequently passed, substituting for these words "temporality of Paisley."—Charters and Docs., 86.

[2] Charters and Docs., 66.

CHAPTER XIV.

PAISLEY AND THE REFORMATION.

When the Reformation movement began, Paisley was a thriving town, the most populous in the shire of Renfrew, a great ecclesiastical centre, one of the four places of pilgrimage, and had often been visited by the King. The notable positions occupied by its later abbots, their political influence, and their frequent distinguished visitors, had made the place one of the most important towns in the west of Scotland and the centre of considerable activity.

The chief object of attraction in the town was the abbey, its beautiful church adorned with the splendid furniture and ornaments provided for it by Abbot Tervas and other of its Superiors, its venerated chapel of SS. Mirin and Columba, its deer park and charming gardens, and "the very splendid wall of dressed stone, with beautiful statues on the summit," by which the whole of the buildings and gardens were enclosed. On the west side, and probably facing the bridge across the Cart, was the principal gateway, the "statlie yet hous" of which the old chronicler[1] speaks, built by Thomas Tervas, in the shape of a "great pend"[2] or arched passage, surmounted by the tower built by Abbot George Shaw. Abbot Hamilton had not then begun to build the tower which afterwards destroyed so large a portion of the church. The north as well as the south transept was standing, as were also the cloisters and the dormitory on the west front, and the choir was probably either intact or in process of re-building.

[1] Auchinleck.

[2] "Ye enter into the Court [*i.e.*, of the abbey] by a great pend most curiously built."—Lauder of Fountainhall, Journal, 184. "The wals of the yard," he also says, "may almost passe for a miracle because of their curious workmanship and extent."

Leslie, bishop of Ross, who saw the place somewhat later, speaks with enthusiasm of the buildings, and says they might rival many which were considered more magnificent among foreign nations.[1]

The number of monks belonging to the abbey is uncertain. Originally, of course, there were, including the prior, thirteen. To a tack granted to Martin John Steward of the "Kirkis of Paslay and Lochtwinyok" for nineteen years, in 1539, the names of the abbot and fifteen monks are subscribed,[2] and a charter granted by the abbot and convent twenty years later contains the same number of signatures.[3] What became of the monks after the dissolution of the monastery, is quite as uncertain. When Archbishop Hamilton was tried for saying mass, in 1563, thirteen others were tried with him, some of whom were certainly his own monks, and all, according to the indictment, were in holy orders. In 1567, Hamilton, in his letter to Queen Elizabeth, said that he found the place "standing waist," and no one in it except a boy who had the key. The probability is that the monks did not

[1] The translator of Leslie (Hist., i. 15, S. T. S. edition) says:—"From this [Renfrew] the space of twa myles is distant Paslay quhilke is situat amang cnowis, grene woodis, schawis, and forrest fair, onn the River Cart, quhair is an ornate brig of astlare warke and weil decored, be quhilke surlie is past over til a magnifike and a riche monaster thair of the same name erected at the toune syne, quhilke with a very magnifike wal, al hail with four square stane was walled round about above a myle of gate, stiking and standing out verie fair Images and verie mony of thame. The pulchritude of quhilke Temple, bewtie of the biging and ecclesiastical vestments and decore of the yardis, may esile contend with mony kirkis, quhilkes this day ar halden maist ornate in uthir countreyes, quhilke may trulie be spokine of uthir monasteries with us, butt ony exceptione, that we neid not this to repeit agane. . . . Surlie Johne the last archbischope of Sanctandrois with us, with gret expenses erected the tour of the kirke of Paslay that nane with us bigit the lyke, quhilk afor had nocht fallin, it was sa sure foundet nathir was yit perfyted." The last part of the concluding sentence is somewhat confused. Leslie's words are: "quae antea parum firmo nixa fundamento vix dum absoluta mole sua conciderat"—which, before, not having a sufficiently firm foundation, when scarcely finished, had fallen by its own weight.

[2] Lochwinnoch Papers, i. 186.

[3] A charter of the lands of Over Gallowhills, dated July 18, 1559.

flee far, but abode quietly among their friends, of whom in all likelihood they had not a few in Paisley and its neighbourhood.

The chaplains of the altars and some of the officials of the abbey had their dwellings in the town. Sir John Mous, the chamberlain, had his house at the north-east corner of S. Mirin's Wynd.[1] Lord Semple, the bailie and justiciar of the regality of the monastery, had his house in the High Street, where No. 94 now stands. The house of the priest serving the altar of Our Lady stood originally on the west side of S. Mirin's Wynd,[2] and was afterwards removed to the High Street, where it occupied the ground upon which Nos. 14, 15, and 16 are now built.[3] S. Ninian's House, or the house of the priest who served the altar of that saint, was "in the vennel called Wattir Raw, next to the River Cart."[4] The chaplain of SS. Mirin and Columba resided in Seedhill,[5] where was also the house of the parochial chaplain of Paisley.

Of the chapels in the town and its neighbourhood, there is no complete list. In the neighbourhood were the chapels at Crookston and Levern, and one in the hospital built by Robert Croc for "infirm brethren," all of which date back to the year 1180.[6] To these have to be added the chapel at Blackhall, the chaplain of which witnessed a charter in 1272,[7] and the chapel of S. Convall, situated within the village of Fereneze and in the parish of Paisley.[8] In the School Wynd, or, as it was then called, the Bornyard or Barnyard, and on the south

[1] Chartulary of Paisley, MS. charter of John Stewart, January 26, 1505; Semple, S. Mirin, 41.

[2] Charters and Docs., 135; charter of John Stewart; Semple, S. Mirin, 45.

[3] Semple, S. Mirin, 42.

[4] Reg. Mag. Sig., 1546-80, p. 679. The patrons of this altar were the prior and convent.

[5] The Chappellainer's House in the Seedhill was standing as late as 1622. On January 24 in that year the Bailies and Town Council ordered it to be "roupit and sett."—Town Council Records.

[6] Reg. de Pas., 77, 78.

[7] Reg. de Pas., 232.

[8] Lochwinnoch Papers, i. 60.

side of it, stood the chapel of S. Nicolas,[1] and in Broomlands stood the chapel of S. Roche, or Roque, or Rollock.[2] In the original village of Paisley was the ancient church of S. Mirin, the chaplains of which, as already noted, meet us in the Register of the monastery as "the Chaplains of Paisley" or "the Parochial Chaplains of Paisley." A chapel of Our Lady gave its name to the Lady Burn flowing into the Cart from the east, and another chapel of Our Lady may have given its name to the district about Lady Lane.

Crosses appear to have been fairly numerous. Corsebar and Crossflat indicate that in the places so named crosses at one time existed. There were also the Cross of Our Lord, near the Saucel, the Cross of S. Mirin on the lands belonging to the burgh, and the Cross of S. Ninian at the head of Causeyside Street.

There were no public buildings other than those devoted to religious uses, with the exception of the Tolbooth, which stood in the High Street at the west corner of Moss Street, where the Commercial Bank now stands. Nearly opposite to the Tolbooth, but to the east, was the Market Cross, round about which and occupying about the same space as what until recently was the Cross, was the Market Place, where the weekly markets and the fairs were chiefly held.

In most respects the town was similar to other Scottish burghs of barony of the period. The houses were one, two, and, in rare instances, three storeys high. With a few exceptions they were built of rough, unhewn stone, thatched with straw or heather and rigged with turf. Most of them were faced in front with planks. One or two of them were built of hewn stone and roofed with slates. The streets were irregular, narrow, and dirty. Paving was unknown, except near the Market Cross, where were the "plane stanes." The streets, even "the King's highway," were made the receptacles of all manner of filth and refuse, and were the favourite feeding-grounds of hens, ducks, geese, and pigs. At the back of each house was its "yaird" or

[1] Brown, Hist. of Paisley Grammar School. [2] Charters and Docs.,

garden, each divided off from those adjoining, and on the landward side expected to be protected by a substantial wall, which in time of war the owner was directed to "braid with thorns." In the "yairdis" or gardens were grown kail, leeks, onions, and such other pot herbs as were then known; sometimes a few flowers were cultivated; but, as a rule, the yards were the abodes of filth and were overrun with domestic live stock, damages being often claimed before the magistrates for depredations done in these ill-kept enclosures by neighbours' pigs or cattle or geese.[1] Scottish towns in the middle ages were by no means attractive. They were characterised by a general air of uncleanliness. Drainage and sanitation were unknown, and in consequence of the fetid atmosphere and the frequent occurrence of "dearths," they were often the hot-beds of disease.

In the houses the rooms were small and low ceilinged, with a minimum of light let in through the smallest of windows, which were as often unglazed as glazed. In the poorer houses the walls were bare; the floors were of beaten clay; the furniture was scant and clumsy, and the utensils were few and expensive. Peat, of which a plentiful supply was obtained from the Moss, was used for fuel, as well as wood from the neighbouring forests. Coal also was in use, but appears to have been regarded as a luxury. In the fifteenth century it was sometimes given as alms to the poor. On his way to Edinburgh from the famous shrine of Our Lady of Whitekirk, in the winter of 1435, Aeneas Sylvius, the Pope's envoy and afterwards Pope himself, beheld with wonder, he tells us, what seemed to him to be stones joyfully received as alms by the half naked beggars who stood shivering at the church doors.[2]

[1] In the ancient laws and customs of the burghs of Scotland, there are several relating to the injury done by a neighbour's horse, cattle, etc., to the property of a burgess. The most curious is the following: "Gif ony fyndis gayte (goats) or geiss in his seath, he sal tak the hedis of the geiss and festin the nebbis in the erd, and the bodyis he sall et, the gait forsuth he sall sla and hald the bodyis for eschet."—Anc. Laws and Customs, 179.

[2] Robertson, Stat. Eccles. Scot., i. lciii.

In the houses of the burgesses and of those who were fairly well-to-do, the walls of, at least, the best rooms were sometimes hung with stamped leather or arras, or they were covered with deal boards, painted or panelled. But the furniture here also, while more plentiful, was clumsy if substantial. An idea of what was regarded as absolutely necessary for the "plenishing" or furnishing of the house of a burgess may be gathered from the law as to the things pertaining to the heir of a burgess, given in the Laws of the Four Burghs. There the following are enumerated as the "necessary things pertaining to the house of the heir of a burgess," viz., the best table with its trestles or supports, a table cloth, towel, basin, a laver or vessel to wash in, the best bed with the sheets, which were, of course, linen, and the rest of the bed-clothes, the best feather bed, or if there was no feather bed, the best flock bed, a brewing leid with a masking vat, a fermenting vat, a barrel, caldron, kettle, gridiron, porringer, chimney, stoup, and a crook or sway on which to hang pots over the fire. These things, it is said, ought not to be left in legacy away from the house. Whether there was a will or not the heir could claim them, together with everything built, planted, or sown upon or in the land. The heir was also to have a chest, shearing hook, plough, wagon, cart, car, a brass pot, a pan, a roasting-iron, a girdil, a mortar and pestle, a drinking-cup, a wooden platter, a cup, twelve spoons, a shelf, a bench, a stool, a set of scales and weights, a spade and an axe. If the land was heritable, all these things were heritable also, and could not be alienated from the heir. If, however, the burgess was constrained by poverty or necessity, he could sell them for his maintenance, but only with the consent of his fellow burgesses.[1] The heir could also claim his father's armour.[2] As a rule, the burgesses, it may therefore be assumed, were fairly well-to-do, and in their houses, besides these "necessary things," others would in all likelihood be found which contributed to the comfort and luxury of the dwellings. Probably a few

[1] Anc. Laws and Customs, p. 58. [2] Anc. Laws and Customs, 171.

cushions and ornaments were scattered here and there in the best rooms. Rugs and carpets for the floors, however, were absolutely unknown. When the floors were covered at all, it was with rushes or straw, sometimes mixed with aromatic herbs.

Most of the burgesses were, to a greater or less extent, engaged in agriculture, renting their farms from the abbey; others eked out their living by following a trade as well. Some would be employed wholly in trade or in some other industry than farming. The abbey would necessarily bring occupation and trade to a number. Farming and weaving, however, formed the staple trades. Besides these, the industries followed were those of the fuller, dyer, malster, joiner, mason, wheelwright, smith, saddler, tavern keeper, cook, merchant or dealer in a variety of goods, tanner, shoemaker, tailor, bleacher, baker. We hear also of stallingers, men who were not burgesses, but had purchased the right to set up stalls or booths or shops, and to carry on trade within the burgh for a specified period. Chapmen and gypsies visited the town, buying and selling and carrying on their traffic.[1]

The town had also its compliment of professional men, doctors, notaries public and lawyers. One doctor has already been mentioned. The lawyers and notaries were at first supplied from the abbey or the church. Later on they were laymen.

The two fairs were the great popular holidays of the year. Preparations for them were made early, and when the days came—S. Mirin's on September 15, and S. Marnock's on October 25—both sides of the market place and of the neighbouring streets, were lined with stalls or booths, in which were exposed for sale all manner of portable articles from other parts of Scotland, from beyond the border and even from beyond the seas. The streets were crowded with people from the country round about. Pilgrims, monks, and friars

[1] Indications of these industries occur in the Records of the Town Council. Charters and Docs., pp. 153 ff.

mingled in the throng. The air was rent with the discordant cries of itinerant vendors. Here and there jugglers and mountebanks performed their feats before gaping crowds, while in other parts friars and preachers carried on their peculiar traffic. The fairs were often scenes of disorder, and the officers of the fair had often to intervene and try offenders before the courts of Piepowder or Dustyfoot. As a rule, these gatherings served to break the monotony of life, to bring the burgesses in contact with other than their daily neighbours, to spread news, to allow the inhabitants to replenish their stores of foreign goods, and to supply themselves with novelties in the shape of utensils, ornaments, and dress.

As an abbot's burgh, the festivals and holidays of the Church would be all punctually observed in it, and the streets would often be enlivened by those gorgeous processions the Church of the Middle Ages knew so well how to organize. There is no record of the fact in connection with the town of Paisley, but as these processions were held in other towns, there is no reason for supposing that they were not held in Paisley. There are abundant reasons for believing that they were. The chief and most splendid procession was that of Corpus Christi, instituted by Pope Urban IV., in 1263, in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. Corpus Christi day falls upon the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and on that day there can be little doubt that the abbot, with his monks and clergy, arrayed in their most brilliant robes, issued from the gates of the monastery, carrying the shrine containing the sacrament, and passed through the streets of the town in gorgeous procession, chanting the office for the day and attended by the Magistrates and Town Council, while the people lined the streets with bared heads and on bended knees.

There is nothing to show that the inhabitants of the town had any objections to the abbey or were desirous of a change of masters or of religion. The monks were kindly landlords, and under their rule the town had prospered and was prospering. At any rate, whether from reasons of faith or

counsels of prudence, the inhabitants had at first no liking for the new doctrine, and no approval for the work of demolition its disciples were carrying on. Strange to say, the Reformers for some time gave the place a wide berth. About Easter, 1556, John Knox was at Finlaystone, in the parish of Kilmacolm, where he preached and celebrated the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but neither then nor at any other time did he visit Paisley. In 1560, the monasteries were abolished and the Catholic religion was proscribed, but Hamilton, as we have seen, continued to say mass and to hear confessions at the abbey. When Glencairn swept into the town with his rabble of Reformers, burnt the abbey, and destroyed or looted its splendours, the people had some taste of what the Reformation, as then managed, would do for them, and they were not enamoured of it. Still less were they enamoured of the ways of their new masters. Semple, into whose hands the lands and revenues of the abbey at first fell, was as overbearing and rapacious as the monks had been kindly and forbearing. When, therefore, any preachers of the new doctrine came to the town, they met with a cold reception; the doors of the churches were "steykit" against them; the place acquired the reputation of being a "nest of papistrie;" and it was not till twelve years after Protestantism had been legalised and the Catholic religion proscribed, that a minister was appointed to the place.

The first to be appointed was Patrick Adamson or Constant. The selection was not happy. The son of a Perth baker, Adamson studied at the University of St. Andrews, spent some time in France as a travelling tutor, and studied law at the University of Bourges. Returning to Scotland, he married the daughter of an advocate in Edinburgh, and practised for a time as a lawyer. The law failing him, he turned to the Church, was minister of Ceres in 1563, and was commissioned to plant kirks "frome Dee to Etham." In 1564, he craved licence to pass to other countries for a time "to acquire increase of knowledge," but was inhibited from doing so without the permission of the Assembly. On this, he seems to have thrown up the ministry, for in 1570 the

Assembly "earnestlie desired" him to enter the ministry again. Meantime, he appears to have caught the favour of the Regent Morton. When the archbishopric—the *tulchan* archbishopric—of St. Andrews fell vacant, he expected to be appointed to it; but when Douglas, the rector of the University, was appointed, he preached before Morton on the occasion against all manner of bishops—"My lord bishop," "my lord's bishop," and "the Lord's bishop." "My lord bishop," he said, "was in time of Papistrie; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord getteth the benefice and the bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my lord's title sure; the Lord's bishop is the true minister of the Gospel." What sort of a bishop Adamson made, we shall see. The following month, May 6, 1572, he petitioned the Assembly to ratify a pension "the Regent of good memorie" had granted him out of the parsonage of Glasgow and to desire the procurators of the Church to assist him in obtaining payment of the pension; "offering to enter in the function of the ministry according as it should please the Kirk to call him." The Assembly granted the petition, and charged Adamson to enter upon the ministry in Paisley "at what time the commissioner of Clydesdale shall charge him thereto." We next hear of him as commissioner of Galloway in 1575, when he confessed to the Assembly "that he had not used that diligence which lyeth to the full execution of his office, because no stipend was attached to the same." Calderwood, who reports this, contemptuously adds: "This man could not work without wages."[1] The same year, the same writer mentions him as minister at Paisley along with his successor, Andrew Polwart, among eight and twenty ministers who were delaited to the Assembly as non-residents.[2] The year following, he became chaplain to the Regent, and soon after, on the death of Douglas, archbishop of St. Andrews, was appointed by Morton to succeed him, an appointment which he accepted, and so,

[1] Calderwood, History, ii. 245, 281 : iii. 206, 210, 220, 342.

[2] Calderwood, History, iii. 350.

notwithstanding his sermon at his predecessor's induction, became "my lord's bishop," like him. His subsequent career does not here concern us. Sufficient to say that, though in favour with the Regent, he was disliked by his brethren in the ministry. The Regent sent him on an embassy to the English Court; but he was denounced among his brethren as a "knave, heretic, and dealer in witchcraft." His end was like his life, troublous. He is said to have recanted his "heresies" before he died, and to have died in peace. Of his ministry in Paisley, nothing is known. The stipend he received was £200 5s. Scots., not a large sum, and probably his labours were in proportion to it.

His successor in Paisley, Mr. Andro Polwart, did not stay long. Neither he nor Adamson could find lodgings in the town, and both of them must have had a fairly uncomfortable time in the place. After remaining a couple of years, Polwarth was, at his own request, set "fre and at liberty fra the kirk at Paisley that he might serve uther quhair it pleases God to call him, because of the contempt of discipline, their manifest vices, minacing and boasting of doing his deutie, his labours cannot be profitable to them."[1] He became subdean in Glasgow, where, if he did not find a larger stipend, he probably found a more congenial sphere.

Both Adamson and Polwart were assisted by a Reader, named William Makfingorm, who was paid at the rate of £20 Scots a year. He is designated "Maister" in the list of ministers, and was probably, therefore, one of the old clergy who had conformed. Such were scattered up and down the country, and were often employed as readers, but were not allowed either to administer the sacraments or to preach. Their duty was to conduct a service introductory to that of the minister. The reader took his place at the lectern, read the Common Prayers, and, in some churches, the Decalogue and the Creed. He then gave out large portions of the Psalter, the singing of which concluded with the *Gloria Patri*, and next read chapters of scripture from the

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 396.

Old and New Testaments, going through in order any book that was begun, as required by the First Book of Discipline. After an hour thus spent, the bell rang and the minister entered the pulpit.[1]

Thomas Smeaton, who succeeded Polwart in 1578, was a man of great gifts and fine character, whose career was at first somewhat singular and finally distinguished. Educated at St. Andrews, when the Reformation movement began, he was in doubt as to which side he ought to join, and "understanding that the Order of Jesuits was the most learned and exquisite Order in Papistrie," for the removal of his doubts, he entered the Jesuit College in Paris, though not before he had consulted some of his Protestant friends in Geneva. From Paris he went to Rome, but being suspected, he was sent back to Paris, "through all the colleges of the Jesuits by the way." In Lorraine, he was taken ill with a fever and was "cast in perplexity both of body and mind, and fought a great battle in his conscience." On his arrival in Paris, he took leave of his Jesuit friends, and being "narrowly searched for," he sought refuge with Walsingham, who was then English Ambassador at the French Court. During the massacre of S. Bartholomew's Eve he was again closely searched for, but escaping, he crossed the Channel with Walsingham and set up a school at Colchester. On his arrival in Scotland, he was appointed to Paisley. At the suggestion of Andrew Melville, then principal of the College of Glasgow, he wrote a treatise in refutation of Archibald Hamilton's *De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos*, for which, in 1580, he received a grant from the King of £100.[2] After remaining two years in Paisley, he was appointed principal of Glasgow College in succession to his friend Andrew Melville, who had been translated to the principalship of St. Andrews. He was twice Moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk, and died in 1583. Kindly, gentle, and earnest, he appears, unlike Adamson, to have had no enemies. James

[1] Leishman and Sprott, Book of Common Order.

[2] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 190.

Melville speaks of him in the highest terms. "Mr. Thomas," he says, "was verie wacriff and painful, and skarslie tuk tym to refresh nature. I haiff seen him oft find fault with lang dinners and suppers at General Assemblies, and, when uthers were thereat, he would abstain, and be about the penning of things (wherein he excellit, baithe in language and form of letter), and yet he was nocht rustic, nor austere, but sweet and affable in companie, with a modest and naïve gravitie. Very frugal in food and reyment, and walked maist on fut; whom I was verie glad to accompanie whiles to Stirling, and now and then to his kirk for my instruction and comfort. He lovit me exceeding well, and wold at parting thrust my head into his bosom and kiss me."[1] Calderwood's testimony is to the same effect.[2]

Smeaton seems to have been no happier in his ministry in Paisley than Polwart was. The "minacing and boasting" of which the latter complained, still went on. Neither the extant Records of the Presbytery nor those of the Town Council go back as far as the time he was in Paisley; but two cases recorded in the Register of the Privy Council afford some indication of the condition in which affairs then were. In both cases the defendants belonged to Paisley, and in both of them Smeaton appeared as a prosecutor.

In the first of these cases the defendant was Henry Houston. He had relapsed into Catholicism twice, and when convicted before the General Assembly in Glasgow, on July 10, 1578, he openly "reviled the whole Assembly, calling them all heretics and traitors, with many other unseemly words." Smeaton, as he belonged to his parish, was instructed to excommunicate him, and appears to have done so. But in spite of this, Houston persevered in his Catholicism, and on May 2, 1579, while Smeaton was preparing a number of his flock for the communion, he suddenly broke into the place where Smeaton was and "did what in him lay to draw away the simple sort from the doctrine of salvation . . . and in a great rage often repeated that

[1] Diary, 75. [2] History, iii. 407.

the said 'Maister Thomas' and all the other heretics should be 'hangit' before he renounced the Mass or any part of papistry, with sundry other threatening speeches, whereby the people is brought to a careless liberty and sindrie that before were privy evil willers," the petition goes on to say, "are now emboldened plainly to contemn all religion." Houston failed to obey the citation to appear before the Privy Council, and was put to the horn.[1]

The other suit was raised in the autumn of the same year, and is not without its ludicrous features. As stated in the petition, the charge runs as follows:—"About the 15th day of July last bipast [1597], William Cunninghame, minister at Lochwinnoch, lamyt of ane leg, come for his lauchful besines to the toun of Paislay, ryding upoun ane mair, quhilk, be sum evill treatment, chancit to de, quhilk being persevit be Robert Alexender, William Mudie, and John Wilson, indwellaris of the said toun of Paslay, ennymeis to all sic as professis the trew religion, [they] come with aill and uther provisions and powrit drink in the meiris mouth, and thaireftir dansit and sang the Saule Mess and Dairgie for the ministeris deid meir, as they callit it," all to the contempt of "sic as feiris God." The accused brought their witnesses; but the verdict went against them, and they were ordered to be punished "at the will of our Soverane Lord"[2] Evidently after nearly twenty years, the Reformation had not made much way in Paisley. A number of churches in the Presbytery were still vacant.[3]

[1] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 190.

[2] Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 209, 215.

[3] See the Petition of the Clergy, Reg. of Privy Council, iii. 176.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND HOSPITAL.

1576—1618.

Almost as far back as the extant national historical records go, there are indications of schools in the country. S. Ninian kept school at Whithorn. Afterwards there was a great monastery, or what was then a university, there. At Iona, the monks were students as well as missionaries. Wherever they went they carried with them not only the light of the gospel, but the light also of civilization. S. Serf, according to the legend, taught at Culross; and S. Mungo or Kentigern, at Glasgow. And S. Mirin, unless he was different from every other missionary that left Ireland at the period, kept school at Paisley. He would require men and boys to assist him in conducting his religious services, and, if for no other reason, he would teach them. His methods and apparatus would be of the simplest and most rudimentary kind, but he would, at least, teach them to read and sing the psalms and responses, if he did not keep school on a more extensive scale.

Though there is no reference in the Register of the Monastery to a school in Paisley, there was certainly one in the monastery itself almost from its very beginning. Every monastery, as well as every cathedral, had its school, and the abbey of Paisley would be no exception. Though its main purpose was to train boys and men to perform the services in the church, it would be unlike every other similar school if it was not attended by other pupils who pursued some branches of secular learning. William Wallace, the national hero, notwithstanding the tradition that he received his education in Dunipace, was in all probability a pupil in the abbey school. Along with him would

be children of other landowners in the neighbourhood. Later on there was a school in the town for the children of the town's people. One of the witnesses who testified against Archbishop Hamilton is designated the "schoolmaster of Paisley."

The Grammar School was founded by Royal charter in 1577. The first suggestion of it is said to have originated with Patrick Adamson or Constant, the first Protestant minister of the town. Perhaps it did. Adamson, as we have seen, was in high favour with the Regent Morton, and a word to him would go far. It is to be hoped that the suggestion did originate with Adamson. In his own day and generation little good was said about him, and this act may have been his saving grace. Perhaps he hoped to accomplish by means of a school what he had failed to accomplish by his labours as a minister.

According to the charter,[1] the school was founded by and with the advice of the Regent Morton and the Lords of the Privy Council. The endowments the charter conferred were the altarages of SS. Mirin and Columba, Our Lady Mary the Virgin, and SS. Ninian, Nicholas, Peter, Catherine, and Anne,[2] the chapel of S. Roch and its seven roods of land adjacent to it in Broomlands, the Monks' Pittance,[3] the obit silver formerly levied by the monks, and the Monks' Commons. They were given for the erection and support of a grammar school, for the support of a master or teacher to instruct or educate the boys and youth of the burgh and adjacent country. Forty merks were to be set aside yearly for four poor boys, natives of Paisley, who were to continue in the school five years, and to be paid ten merks each a year. Any or all of the four might be continued beyond the five years, and continue to receive the allowance; but their number was never to be less than four. The rights of existing prebends and chaplains were reserved, but, as the offices fell vacant, the revenues were to fall to the bailies, councillors, and com-

[1] Charters and Docs., 58. [2] Charters and Docs, 129.
[3] Charters and Docs., 133.

munity, who were appointed trustees, and directed to form the altarages, etc., "into one subject or estate for all time coming, to be called Our Foundation of the Grammar School of Paisley"—which apparently they did not do. In the event of the provisions of the charter not being carried out, the charter directs that the whole shall be annulled, but no provision is made for its annulment. Among the witnesses to the charter was George Buchanan, pensioner of Crosraguel, the famous Humanist. Adamson's name does not occur in the deed.

Sasine was given of the endowments, January 3, 1577, and the school was set up in 1586. Its first habitation was on the site of S. Nicolas Chapel, on the south side of the School Wynd, first known as the Barnyard, and afterwards for a long series of years as the Grammar School Wynd. The building was probably of stone, and was thatched, as most buildings then were. It consisted of two class rooms, one for the grammar school, the other for the sang school. Over the entrances was placed a memorial stone, on which was cut what was apparently then known as the town's arms. The letter O stood on one side of them and the letter P on the other as the initial letters of *Oppidum Pasleti*, and above the arms the inscription—"The Gramar Scuil, 1586."

Sir Thomas Robeson, "master of the school of Paisley," who betrayed the secrets of the confessional and gave evidence at Stirling against Archbishop Hamilton, is said to have been executed for saying mass. In 1600, the schoolmaster of the town, as we shall see, was John Gilchrist. He was followed by Mr. Robert Henderson, who was succeeded, in 1604, by Mr. Thomas Bell. Under February 10, 1604, in the Records of the Town Council, is the following minute respecting his engagement: "Compeared Mr. Thomas Bell, who declared to them [the presiding Bailie and Town Council] that he was sent and desired by Mr. Andro Knox, minister at Paisley, and Thomas Inglis, burgess thereof, being in Edinburgh, to come to the Burgh to agree with them for teaching of the Grammar School thereof; and according thereto offered himself for such trial of his doctrine and abilities to teach the

said school as the said Bailie and Council thought expedient. And for this trial the said Bailie and Council sent for Mr. Andro Knox, who compeared before them; and, after consultation and enquirement had in the said matter, the said Bailie and Council referred the said trial of the said Mr. Thomas' abilities to teach the said Grammar School to the said Mr. Andro and the Presbytery, or as many of them as they could appoint to that effect. Likewise, as the said Bailie and Council declared to the said Mr. Thomas that they would have him to be bound to teach the said Grammar School for the space of five years at the least, and to read the prayers in the said [S. Mirin's] Kirk daily during the said space. And his yearly stipend to be one hundred merks money to be paid as follows, viz., forty merks thereof by the Right Honourable James, Master of Paisley, his Chamberlain and Factor, and forty pounds by the Bailies and Council and their Treasurer for the time, at four times in the year, viz., Beltane, Lammas, Allhallows, and Candlemas. And likewise each burgess's son and indweller within the said Burgh being put to the school pay to the said Mr. Thomas thirteen shillings and fourpence at the times aforesaid in schooledge and on contract to be made thereupon, the said Master Thomas being found qualified. To which the said Mr. Thomas agreed."

Mr. Thomas appears to have satisfied the Presbytery as to his qualifications, though there is no written record of the fact. In June of the same year he applied to the Presbytery to be admitted upon the "privy exercise," with a view to joining the ministry, and, after various trials, was finally, on September 5, 1605, licensed "to teach publicly in any kirk he shall be lawfully called to." It is uncertain how long he remained as schoolmaster and reader in Paisley after this; but as qualified preachers were still scarce, it is not likely that he remained long. Next to him in succession is mentioned in the Town Records, but not till February, 1618, Mr. Robert Park, as "schoolmaster in the Grammar School." Later on in the year, October 5, the Bailies and Council, in order to protect Mr. Robert Park's emoluments, ordained

"that there be no reading schools within the said Burgh except the Grammar School and Music School, neither male nor female," and further, "that until the bairnes be of eight years of age, none of them be sent to the Sewing School, till they can read perfectly." In Paisley, as well as elsewhere, private schools were springing up in order to meet the demand for education, and rules similar to the above were adopted and enforced in many places in the interest of the public school teachers. On the same day that the above statute was passed by the Bailies and Council, they ordained and appointed "the Master of the Music School to charge quarterly of every bairn six shillings and eightpence school-age." The music school was usually taught by the master's assistant. In Paisley it was given up, for no reason stated, in May, 1623, when the Council allowed Mr. Robert Park to use the room in which it was held, "be bigging a brace therein of clay at his own expense," as part of his dwelling-house. Mr. Park appears to have been held in great esteem by the municipal authorities, for on May 4, 1620, he was made a burgess and freeman of the burgh. His successor was Mr. William Hutchison, who, to his other offices, added that of Clerk to the Presbytery. For discharging the duties of the latter office he was paid the sum of £20 Scots yearly; the salary of the Officer of the Presbytery at the same time being twenty shillings *per annum*. They were both thought to be handsomely paid. Hutchison also was, like his predecessor, made a burgess and freeman of the burgh. His successor as schoolmaster and reader was Mr. John Knox, who was appointed "by a plurality of voices *ad primam culpam usque*." This was in 1645. Mr. John Will, "student in Glasgow," was appointed in 1646, with a "Doctor," *i.e.*, a teacher, as assistant under him. To Mr. Will the Council sent two of their number "to discharge him absolutely that he strike nane of the scholars." Mr. Will was succeeded in 1648 by Mr. Alexander Park, who had acted as "pedagogue to the Marquis of Douglas." It was during his incumbency that William Mure of Caldwell attended the Grammar School. Mure was in attendance a couple of years, and in his account

book he has set down some curious particulars as to the payments he made. Here it may be remarked that there was paid "to the schoilmaster and doctor at Paisley for Wm. Mure his Candilmes waidg and offering, 1648, £11 4s. 0d.," and that two sums amounting to £9 13s. 4d. were given to Mure himself in the same year "to buy his buiks." In the following year, the sum paid for his "Candilmes waidg and offering" was £11 12s. 0d., and as "his quarter waidg fra Candilmes, 1649, £3 0s. 0d." For "his buirding fra the 1st October, 1648, till February 9, 1949, the sum of £186 was paid to John Vaus' wife in Paisley." In the same year, his Candlemas offering was £8 16s. In 1650, he went to Glasgow and paid the schoolmaster there on his entry two sums amounting to £7. For his Candlemas offering in the following year he gave £20, "he being victor that year, 1651."[1]

The first hospital of the town of which there is any record, was built by the Bailies and Town Council in the year 1618, at the east corner of what is now known as Orr Square. The stones used in its construction were taken from the church of S. Roch, which had then fallen into ruins. The foundation charter,[2] which is dated September 30, 1618, sets out that in this hospital six poor old men, feeble and unable to work, or more, if it should happen, belonging to the burgh, were to be housed and supported. They were to be clad in gowns reaching to the ankles, tunics and bonnets, black or blue as the Bailies and Council directed. For their provision and clothing they were to have the hospital and yard and forty merks yearly to be taken from the common good, etc., of the burgh, and to be divided among them, weekly or monthly, at the option of the Bailies and Council and their successors, together with sixty loads of peats and thirty loads of coal. In return, the six old men were to offer up their "prayers and suffrages day and night to the Lord God Almighty for the keeping and defence of His Universal Church, for the health and safety of the King and his posterity"; for "the increase

[1] Caldwell Papers, Pt. I., 100, and foll.

[2] Charters and Docs.

and prosperity of the noble and potent Lord Claud, Lord of Paisley, James Earl of Abercorn," etc.; for "the increase and prosperity of the said burgh," and for "the everlasting salvation and daily prosperity of the Magistrates, Bailies, Councillors, and all the burgesses and inhabitants of the said burgh of Paisley." They were also to ring the bell of the hospital daily at 5 A.M. and 10 P.M., and "the last bell of the day of preaching." They were, further, "to keep the hospital well cleaned and the yard cultivated and planted with flowers in all time coming."[1] By the direction of the Earl of Abercorn, the Town Council further ordained that the annuals and obit silver formerly paid to the priests and assigned by the King's charter as part of the endowment of the Grammar School should henceforward go to the support of the hospital.[2] The institution subsequently came in for other endowments. In January, 1629, the sum of 200 merks was left to it by Mr. Thomas Inglis, and on September 22, 1632, "Peter Algie, writer in Edinburgh, the town's agent there, mortified for the use of the poor in the hospital in the West Port, 100 merks money."[3] Forty pounds were also given to the inmates annually from George Semple's foundation for the poor of the burgh.[4]

The hospital had two storeys, the upper one being usually let. For a number of years, one of the town schools was held in it. The building was also provided with a steeple, known as the Wee Steeple. The bell on the steeple bore on one side the inscription:

> "Quha gives to the puir, to God he lends,
> And God again mair grace him sends";

and on the other:

> "He that hes pitie on the por,
> Of grace and mercy sal be sor."

In 1661, the bell was taken down and sent to Edinburgh to "get a new one of four or five stones, as the bell house will not carry more."[5]

[1] These are all enumerated in the charter.
[2] Town Council Records, March 8, 1618.
[3] Town Council Records.
[4] Town Council Records, November 6, 1660.
[5] Town Council Records.

It appears that the number of beneficiaries sometimes fell below six. On September 6, 1659, there were only three in it. At that date, the inmates solicited new clothes from the Town Council, "who condescendit that ilk ane of them have ane new gowne of blew clothe and ilk ane of them ane pair of hose." Forty years later, the Town Council "nominated William Greenlees elder, and Robert Urie hospital men, and allotted to them the ordinary pension and other benefits upon condition that they abide in the house themselves and keep fire therein."[1] From this it would appear that, as a rule, the burgesses of the burgh were in fairly good circumstances, and that the Town Council had some difficulty in keeping up the number of six.

One duty of the hospital men was to ring the "dead bell," said to have been known as the "Yammer Yowl," from its being rung when a funeral procession passed. In 1652, one John Millar was appointed to ring the bell; but as he was also appointed "to make graves," it is doubtful whether he was one of the "poor old men, feeble and unable to work," for whom the hospital was designed.[2] As a funeral passed, one of the hospital men, it is said, used to solicit alms, hat in hand, and usually received threepence from one of the mourners.[3] In other towns at this period, the "dead bell" was not fixed in a tower as in Paisley, but was a small hand-bell, which was also used for summoning the Guild and the Town Council, and was rung through the streets of the town by the town officer or bellman.

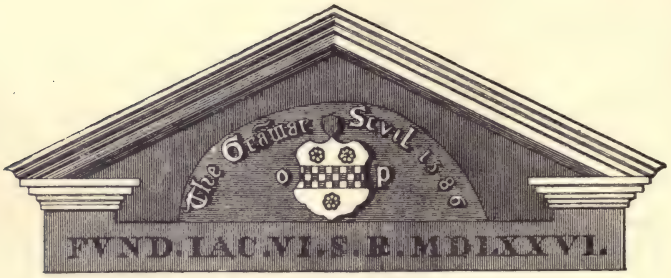
By the year 1723, the hospital had fallen into a ruinous condition, and the Town Council resolved[4] to build a more commodious structure on its site. This was done in the following year, when there was added a Public Hall for meetings of the various trades, with a steeple and a bell in connection with the hospital. The steeple, placed in the centre of the building, abutted on the pavement, and was furnished with a

[1] Town Council Records, April 28, 1699.
[2] Town Council Records, January 29, 1652.
[3] Mitchell, The Wee Steeple's Ghaist, 49.
[4] Town Council Records, May 3, 1723.

clock with dials on the east, west, and south sides. On the east side of the steeple was a stair leading to the Public Hall, while on the west there was an arched passage or pend leading back from the High Street to Oakshaw Street, along what is still known as Pen Lane or Pen Brae.[1] The alms-house, or hospital, was finally removed in 1808, when Orr Square was laid off and a new passage given to the Baptist meeting-house in Pen Lane.[2]

[1] Gilmour, Pen Folk, Preface.

[2] This meeting-house has had a somewhat chequered history. When it ceased to be the meeting-place of the Pen Folk it was used by the disciples of Owen, the Lanark Socialist. At another time it was used by the Mormons; at another, by the Literary and Convivial Association; and at another it was used for a Ragged School. At present (1907) it is used as a billiard room.



CHAPTER XVI.

THE MAGISTRATES AND TOWN COUNCIL.

The extant Records of the Town Council do not go further back than September 10, 1594. From an entry under date April 5, 1606, Records are known to have been then in existence reaching back to February 25, 1507, and there can be no doubt that at one time there were others which went back to the day on which the town was erected into a burgh of regality by Abbot George Shaw. Unfortunately, too, the Records which are still extant are not continuous—the volumes for the years 1614-1616, 1638-1645, 1660-1666 being wanting. Those which exist carry us back to within ten years of the date when Lord Claude Hamilton settled down in the Place of Paisley for good, and from a number of notes they contain, it is possible to make out with considerable certainty the condition of the town and the way in which it had been ruled, and continued to be ruled.

The principal officials of the burgh were the Town Clerk, Treasurer, and Procurator-Fiscal. The Town Clerk was chosen yearly, and was allowed, when requisite, to appoint others to act in his place. The Treasurer and Procurator-Fiscal were also appointed yearly. Frequently there were more than one Procurator-Fiscal. On October 15, 1601, no fewer than four were appointed.[1] The Town Council had also its Master of Works, Poinders, Visitors, and Lyners. The first Master of Works was appointed on October 12, 1605. The appointment of Poinders is first mentioned in the extant Records under date May 25, 1604. The practice of poinding, however, had been going on for some time before this. On the occasion referred to, the appointment

[1] Town Council Records.

appears to have been made for a special purpose, viz., "for poinding and apprehending of all hors, ky, and other bestial eitting onie other man's corn or grass nor [than] thair awner's."[1] The Visitors were appreciators of flesh, tasters of wine and ale, visitors of the meal market. Their duties were to inspect the commodities they were appointed to visit, to fix their prices, and to see that they were not bought or sold elsewhere than in the markets on market days, or before the appointed hours, or at other than the prices fixed. The Appreciator of Flesh had also to see that the meat was properly cut up. The first Lyners were appointed on October 10, 1616. In addition to the above, there were the Sergeants or Town's Officers, a Town Drummer, a Town Piper, and two Town Herds, all of whom were appointed by the Town Council. The appointment of the Herds usually ran from Beltane (Whitsunday) to Lammas (August 1).

The principal meetings of the Magistrates and Town Council, called, as in royal burghs, the Head Courts, were held at Michaelmas, Yule, and Pasch (Easter).[2] At the October (Michaelmas) Head Court, the Bailies and Town Council were elected, and the various appointments made, such as those of the Town Clerk, Treasurer, Procurator-Fiscal, and Visitors. Both at this and at the other Head Courts, a great variety of business was done. Among other things, burgesses and stallingers were admitted, the town booths were set, the town lands let or feued, rules and regulations were made for the markets and Visitors, and laws—or, as they were called, Acts—were passed for the town. The Head Courts, in short, were in some respects a kind of local parliament, the enactments of which covered a very wide field of social and economic legislation. All the burgesses were expected to be present at them, wearing their armour. Absentees, without a reasonable excuse, were fined.

[1] The quotations, except where otherwise stated, are from the MS. Records of the Town Council. In some instances the spelling is modernized.

[2] Ancient Laws and Customs, xix., p. 40.

In the framing of their laws and regulations for the town, the Magistrates and Town Council were guided partly by the Acts of Parliament, both new and old, and partly by the ancient laws and customs of the royal burghs. It fell to them to enforce the Acts of Parliament and, after the Reformation, sometimes the Acts of the General Assembly of the Kirk.

At the time to which reference is made—the period immediately before and immediately after the Reformation—one subject which particularly occupied the attention of the Magistrates and Town Council was the desecration of Sunday, or as it was then, though not quite correctly, called "the Sabbath."[1] In Scotland the day had never been well observed. Queen Margaret was shocked at the way in which it was kept, or, rather, not kept, in her day, and tried to introduce reforms. Succeeding princes did the same, but without effecting any great improvement. Before the Reformation, markets and fairs were held in kirkyards, and in the kirks themselves, on festival days and on Sundays. Servants were made to work as on other days. Shops, hostelries, and places of entertainment and amusement were kept open, wapinschaws were held, and business was sometimes transacted in the Court of Session. In the fifteenth century, the day was generally given up to mirth and revelry: the people practised archery at the butts, danced, played cards, diced, and took part in all manner of amusements. By an Act passed in 1469, the holding of fairs on holidays and on Sundays was strictly prohibited. In 1503, it was renewed and extended by an Act which ordained that fairs and markets should not be held on holidays or in kirkyards or in kirks. Forty years later, however, the holding of markets in Edinburgh for the sale of meat on Sundays was expressly authorized. From Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, we learn that the conduct of those who attended divine service in the churches was, in

[1] For centuries Saturday had been called "Sabbath" or "the Sabbath." The transference of the name to Sunday dates from the time of the Reformers.

many cases, far from becoming, many of them indulging "in carreling and wanton synging." The same is shown by the canons of one of the Provincial Councils. In time of service, sports and secular business went on in the church porches and church yards, while in the churches themselves there was jesting and irreverence.

The conduct of the Reformers in their meetings for worship, while different, was scarcely any more devotional. The politico-religious harangues which Knox delivered as sermons were calculated to awaken other than devotional feelings in the minds of his hearers, and his assemblies for worship often ended in great political excitement. For many years, indeed, Sunday was observed little better by the Reformers than it was by the Catholics. "It was on a Sunday," writes Dr. Robertson, "that the Reformed Commendators of Holyrood and Coldingham, both Lords of the Congregation, rode at the ring in women's clothes. It was on a Sunday that the Reformed municipality of Edinburgh gave its grand banquet to the King's French kinsfolk, Knox travelled on a Sunday, wrote letters on a Sunday, and had the Duke of Chatelherault and the English Ambassador to sup with him on a Sunday. The Gaelic translator of Knox's *Forms of Prayer*, the reformed Superintendent of Argyll and Bishop of the Isles, feasted the Queen and the Ambassador of Savoy on a Sunday."[1] Acts of Parliament for the due observance of the day were passed, but with little effect. That of 1579, by no means the first of its kind, runs upon the narrative that the Sabbath days were then commonly violated and broken as well within the burghs as in the rural districts, and prohibited again the holding of markets and fairs on Sundays. At the same time, it enacted that "na handy lauboring or working be used on the Sunday nor na gamying, playing, passing to tavernis and aill housis, and selling of meit or drink or wilfull remayning fra the paroch kirk in tyme of sermone or prayers on Sunday be used."[2]

[1] Preface to the Inventory of Queen Mary's Jewels, 79.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot., iii. 138.

But in spite of the Acts of Parliament, we continue to hear of "perturbers of kirks," "buying and selling, playing, passing to taverns and alehouses, and absence from kirk on Sundays" for many years. The following Act, passed by the Kirk Session of Dunfermline eighty-three years after the Reformation, shows how little had really been done to effect a better observance of the day:—"That day [April 23] Andrew Thomson, bellman, is ordained to take notice of those who in the Communion aisle in time of preaching and other times of God's service have their common discourses and take sneising tobatto [snuff] in the most remote and secret part of the said aisle, where they think they will not be seen; and the said Andrew is ordained to delate such that order may be taken with them."[1] The picture this presents is sufficiently vivid, and needs no comment.

In trying to secure the better observance of the day in Paisley, the Presbytery and Kirk Session, of course, took a large hand; but it fell to the Magistrates and Town Council to enforce the Acts of Parliament. Perhaps they were nothing loath to do so. As might be expected, their zeal sometimes led to intolerance. Here is an ordinance which they passed on January 27, 1596, intituled "Act anent sic persons as that wilfully remain fra the Parish Kirk—The quhilk day it is statute and ordanit be the Baillies and Town Council of the said Burgh, that sic persouns that beis apprehendit playing, passing to tavernis and aillhouses or selling meit or drink or wilfully remaining fra the Paroch Kirk in tyme of sermon on Sonday, be pundit for xxs., *toties quoties;* and in caise of refuis or inhabilitie of any person apprehendit offending in the premisis to pay the said penaltie presentlie upon thair apprehension or conviction after lawful trial, he or she sal be put and haldin in the stoks be the space of xx hours, and for trial be taken herein the said Baillies and Counsell has appointed that the Clerk of the said Burgh, accompanied with ane of the officiaris with some other elders of the parish, the day that it shall fall to them to pass upon, so that the said

[1] Henderson, Extracts from the Kirk Session Recs. of Dunfermline, 12.

Clerk shall go his Sonday about accompanied as said is, and the Clerk of the Session his Sonday about accompanied in like manner, who shall note all such persons whom they apprehend in manner foresaid, and shall either cause the officiaris of the said Burgh pund them presentlie for the said penaltie or upon the morne thareftir, and the said punds to be pryssit and applied be the Baillies of the said Burgh on pious uses as best sall please them, and for the Clerk's pains to be taken tharin there sal be ane honest fiel [fee] appointed for him yearlie be the minister and Session."

Six years later, January 28, 1602, attendance at church was compelled in terms of the statute under a penalty of twenty shillings for every absence. Two years after this, all merchants were directed to close their shops or booths every Tuesday during prayers and to attend church for hearing the Word. Masters of crafts were enjoined to do the same. This was in addition to attendance at the daily morning and evening prayers at the chapel of S. Mirin. In Glasgow, at the same date, there were practically four preaching days in the week—Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. The Presbytery met on Fridays, and the general Kirk Session of the city took upon them to request the brethren to find some other day for their meeting, as their meetings on Friday were interfering with the Friday preachings. Probably the people found the meetings of the Presbytery more entertaining than the preachings.

The efforts of the Magistrates, Town Council, Presbytery, and Kirk Session do not appear to have done much to further the principles of the Reformation in Paisley. The Act of the Town Council recited above had often to be renewed. An Act passed, October 12, 1604, enjoined "the haill inhabitants to keip the Sabbath days," and enacted that "gif it happin onie person or persons dwelland in landwart being addebtit to onie inhabitant of the said Burgh to be apprehendit within the same bulying, drinkand, vaigand or doand onie turns upon the Sabbath in time of preichings, it sal be leisum to the person or persons to quham they are indebted to chalange thame as gif it were not on the Sabbath." Another Act of

the Council, passed on October 25, 1612, ordained that "aither guidman or guidwyfe attend from every house within the Burgh every Tuesday at the preaching and every Sunday afternoon under pain of a penalty of six shillings and eightpence." Later on, in 1618, "disobedients to the kirk" are to be put in ward till they find caution to appear before the Kirk Session. After this, things appear to have gone from bad to worse; for Acts are passed forbidding markets for fruit, herrings, and other food stuffs (vivers) to be "openly" made before afternoon preaching was held. Notaries were also forbidden to write or to "make any kind of security on the Sabbath day." The Acts anent keeping church on Sundays and Tuesdays had to be renewed, and those also against the selling and drinking of ale in alehouses on Sundays and after ten at night through the week. It was a long time, indeed, before the people were broken off from their old habits and customs, and a long time before Protestantism had any real ascendancy over them.

Among the most difficult and delicate duties the civil rulers of the burgh had to discharge were those of regulating the markets and fixing the prices at which the different commodities were to be sold in the shops and markets. As already mentioned, they had their Appreciators of Flesh, who not only appraised the quality of the meat brought for sale, but also prescribed the way in which it was to be cut up. They had also their Visitors of the meal markets, their Tasters of wine and ale, and other officers or officials who fixed the price of cheese, butter, bread, "keik," and other commodities. In royal burghs, the merchant gilds and the various crafts and their deacons had a voice in these matters. But in Paisley there was no merchant gild, and no properly organized crafts.

In 1596, the fleshers of the town, having laid their heads together, formed themselves into a sort of trade union and attempted to take the management of their own trade out of the hands of the Town Council altogether. According to a minute of the Town Council, dated October 13 of that year, the whole of the fleshers of the burgh "made ane mutual

band and confederation to by [buy] all bestiall for the slauchter upon the equal expensis and to slay the same in the butts, and thereafter being slain, the same sal not be sauld be ony of thame without advyse of the rest and the proffeit thereof to be equallie divydit amongis thame." Here was a syndicate of the closest kind. Prices went up at once, with the result, according to the Records, that "the haill inhabitants of the said Burgh and sic utheris that are constrainit to by ony flesh fra the saidis fleshours are hevelie damnifiet and in ane manner disjacit be reason that thay man [must] athir gif sic prices for the samin as the saidis fleshours hes concludit and appointit or they are constrainit to leif of bying thairof and travel to Glasgow for bying of all kynd of flesh to the grit prejudice of the commonweil of the said Burgh." The authorities were not long in taking the matter in hand. They directed the "band and confederation" to be dissolved, and threatened to confiscate anything sold in the attempt to keep it up.[1] Subsequently, the fleshers tried to compromise matters, or else to get round the ordinance made by the authorities by "marrowing," that is, by forming themselves into associations or companies. But the Bailies and Town Council, having no belief in "Collectivism," but a strong faith in "Individualism" and "Competition," perhaps, would hear as little of "marrowing" or co-partnery as of the former "band and confederation." After forbidding "marrowing" among them several times, they passed an Act allowing two to unite in trading, and on October 11, 1666, they ratified "that no more fleshers than two should marrow together," and that they should jointly occupy one and the

[1] See Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 252, where, by an Act passed in 1503, it is enacted "that na nythboris, craftismen, gentilmen, burgesses, nor indwellaris in the Burgh usurp aganis the autoritie of the Kingis officiaris chosin in the Burgh, nor mak ligis [leagues] nor bands in contrar the samin under the panis contenit in the lawis and statutis of the Burgh." Among the inquiries which the Lord High Chamberlain or his deputy were directed to make when in justice ayres was—"gif thar be ony confederacioun or band betwene ony of the toun thru the quhilk the nychtburhede is wrangeoisly greffyt or pur men oppressyt."—Anc. Laws, 153.

same booth, under pain of a penalty of ten pounds. At the same time, they enacted that no flesher should "collop flesh, blow mutton, or take fillets out of either hudroums [calves] or sheepe, or take the ears out of hudroums under pain of ten pounds money."

On the whole, the fleshers of the town seem to have given the authorities considerable trouble; but in this the fleshers of Paisley were not exceptional. Like those of Glasgow and other places, they were in the habit of slaughtering their beasts in the streets, and were not careful to clear away the refuse. As late as 1691, animals were slaughtered in the High Street, and every butcher's shop had its "midding" or "midden" in front of it.

The cordiners were more amenable to authority than were the fleshers, at least in Paisley. Parliament, in 1608, passed an Act for the regulation of the price of boots and shoes according to the value of leather. When the Magistrates in the town of Cupar Fife sought, in accordance with the Act, to fix the prices there, seven of the craft refused to obey their decree, and a fine of five pounds Scots was imposed upon each of them. Refusing to pay, they were promptly lodged in the tolbooth of the burgh. They then complained to the Privy Council, urging that there was no precedent for the conduct of the Magistrates, that it was a "perverting of the law of nature," and impossible to fix a "definitive price." The Lords of the Privy Council thought otherwise, holding that the Magistrates had acted "laughfullie, legallie, and formallie," and directed the recalcitrant craftsmen to be conveyed back to the tolbooth and to be kept there till they gave caution for their obedience in future.[1] The shoemakers of Paisley were more docile. On August 4, 1612, the Bailies and Council called them together to listen to the regulations they had made in respect to the prices they were to charge, and they at once agreed to adopt and obey them.

Besides framing and adopting laws for their burgh, the Bailies and Town Council had to enforce their observance by

[1] Reg. of Privy Council, ii. 177, 178, 300, 2nd Series.

the infliction of pains and penalties. Sitting as a Police or Justice of the Peace Court, if these modern terms may be used, the offences which came before them were chiefly thefts of peats and turf, fornication and adultery, flyting and backbiting, assaults, or "trublance," and Sunday desecration.

In the Moss there was abundance of peat, which could be had merely for the digging of it; but a number of individuals appear to have been too lazy to dig for it themselves, and preferred to carry away that which had been dug and left to dry by others. Offenders of this sort were numerous. Fines were inflicted, but the peat left to dry continued to disappear. In October, 1594, it was ordered, by the Head Court that the houses of those suspected of "peit steilling be rypit," or searched, in order the more effectually to put a stop to the practice. On January 24, 1600, the Act referred to was ratified, with the addition that those convicted for the first offence were to be placed in the jougs a whole day, and that those convicted a second time were to be banished the town. Turf stealing, though less common, was frequent, the turfs being used for the rigging of houses and other purposes.[1]

[1] Burgesses had the right to take what rigging turfs they needed from the Common; but the right was sometimes abused. On September 10, 1594, we have the following Act—"Forasmikil as it is manifest to the said Baillies and Counsall that the haill common is oftentimes be extraordinar casting of rigging turves thereupon as weill be unfremen as fremen, and that riging turves are employit and applyit to sundrie others necessaries nor [than] for riging of their houses to the gret hurt and prejudice of the common weill of the said burgh: Therefore, for remeid thereof, it is statut and ordanit that there be na riging turves casten in tyme cuming without lief be granted thereto be baith the Baillies. . . . and it shall not be leisum to ony non-fremen of the said burgh haifing houses without the fredom thereof to cast ony rigging turves upon the said common without lief obtainit of baith the said Baillies and maist part of the Counsall under the panes," etc. In 1598, another Act was passed prohibiting the "castin" of turfs except for new houses from February to August, and compelling unfreemen to pay for their turfs. No unfreeman, however, was to be allowed to dig turfs even if he was made to pay for them unless he could show that he had already paid up his rent and pittance.

The second class of offences mentioned above were for the most part dealt with by the Kirk Session and Presbytery. Only the worst cases and offenders who did not belong to the parish, appear to have been brought before the Magistrates. Some of them had probably been before the Church Courts already, and had been handed over by them to the Magistrates for the infliction of the severer punishments. In May, 1606, Thomas Stevenson and Catherine Boyd, being convicted of "the filthy sin of fornication," were ordered to be taken to the West Port and thence to be carted east through the High Street and through the Water of Cart and banished.[1] For the same offence, Helen Campbell and Thomas Mather were to be carted along with them. They were all told that in the event of their being found in the burgh again, they would be scourged and burned. The burning was done with a red hot iron on the hand or face. Sometimes the culprit's ear was bored with a red hot iron. Keepers of brothels were severely dealt with. For the first offence, they were kept in prison for eight days on bread and water, and then scourged through the town or parish in which they lived, or in which they had been apprehended. For the second offence, they were burned upon the cheek, and banished the town or parish for ever.

Cursing, swearing, and flyting were common offences, the first two among all classes, and the other chiefly among women. The first two were legislated upon as far back as 1551. The preamble of the Act, which is given below,[2] contains specimens of the phrases used and condemned. In 1601, the Divine Name was so generally used in Paisley in a blasphemous way, that the Town Council solemnly declared in its Minutes that "God's hailie name was

[1] This was done under an Act passed in 1567. Act. Parl. Scot., iii. 25.

[2] "Because notwithstanding the oft and frequent prechingis in detestation of the grevous and abominabill aithis, sweiring, execratiounis and blasphematioun of the name of God, sweiring in vane be His precious blude, body, passioun, and woundis, Devill stick, cumner, gor roist or ryse thame, and sic uthers ugsume aithis and execratiounis."—Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 485.

commonlie usit be the maist part of the inhabitants of this Burgh," and passed an Act against the practice, and in subsequent years renewed the Act again and again. The statute of 1551 was renewed by Parliament in 1581, and for its better execution censors were ordered to be appointed to perambulate market places and fairs, with power to imprison swearers until they paid the prescribed fines, or found sufficient surety for their payment. The fines were fixed according to the rank of the swearer. An earl or prelate had to pay twelve pennies; a baron or ecclesiastic of lower rank, four; a freeholder, vassal, feuar, or burgess, two; craftsmen, one. Those who had no money were to be put in the stocks or imprisoned for four hours. Women who offended were "to be weyit and consideritt conforme to thair blude or estate of thair parteis that thay ar cuplit with." In other words, they had to pay the same fines as their husbands; or, if single, of men in their own rank. Three months after the Act came into operation, the fines were to be doubled; six months after, they were to be trebled.

Flyting was punished by a fine of twenty shillings, and the "joggs enduring the will of the Baillies and Counsall." On June 15, 1608, Elizabeth Burnhead and John Baird, her husband, complained that on the preceding Sunday morning, Agnes Nisbit had "most shamefully slandered and blasphemed the said Elizabeth upon the King's High Street, uttering the following words: 'Thou art ane tryd Lurdane," 'a blind Lurdane,' 'a messel Lurdane, unwordie to be haldin,' 'not honest company,' and sicklike." Agnes pled in extenuation that Elizabeth had provoked her by giving her "cuffis" on the face and head. In the end, the Bailie and Council banished Agnes, and fined Elizabeth forty shillings for assault and battery. Similar cases were frequent.

"Trublance" was a common offence. The wearing of weapons was forbidden, but often in these assaults and quarrels, whingers, dirks, and pistolats were used. There was often a good deal of cross-swearing when the cases were tried, but the Magistrates were patient and painstaking, and, as a rule, their decisions were not disputed. On February 3,

1596, before Bailies Whiteford and Vaus, John Hector, flesher, complained that on December 25 preceding, Patrick Stewart, brother-german of John Stewart of Blackhall, had upon the High Street come "sydling behind" him and "strak him with ane quhinger upon the heid, wherewith he wounded him in the heid to the effusion of his bluid, and in gret quantities, without occasion." Both parties compeared. Stewart alleged that Hector had offended him, but "grantit" that he had wounded him. Wherefore "the Baillies, in respect of Patrick's confession, decerned him an unlaw [fine] of five punds." In the case of John Hamilton, son of Robert Hamilton, the town's officer, the fine for "the invasion of Robert Aitken with ane quhenger upon sixt day of October," the said day "being the Fair-day of this Burgh," the unlaw was made ten pounds. On June 9, 1598, Gilbert Cochrane and Peter Sunderland, Sarshill [Saucel], being charged by the Procurator Fiscal with "using their quhingers and wounding one another, were fined five pounds each. John Allasoun "in Stanlie," was charged, on August 14, 1599, with "drawing ane sword upon the fifteenth of July last, being Sonday, and invading Johne Baird, merchand thairwith." He "became in the Baillie's will" or threw himself upon the mercy of the Court, and was fined forty shillings. At the Head Court held on October 11, 1604, the following Act was passed: "The quhilk day it is statut and ordaint be the Baillies and Counsall of this Burghe that quhatsumever persone or persones sall happin to injure uthers in word or deed in maner following, to wit, he that sall happin to gif his nychbour a lie, sall paye xls.; the giffer of ane dry cuff, fyve punds, and the committer of bluid ten punds, and to be poyndit thairfoir *toties quoties*."

As a rule, the Bailies were held in great respect, but on June 6th, 1601, John Wilson was charged with the serious offence of trying to put Bailie Vaus into the Moss, and was fined the sum of forty shillings. On October 1, 1604, William Gilmour, a burgess, was charged with "misbehaviour in language and disobedience given to John Vaus, one of the Baillies of the said Burgh, in wrangous compleining

upon him to ane nobill Lord, James Lord of Abercorne, Provest of the Burgh." The case was heard before the Earl as Provost, when Gilmour was ordered to be put in the stocks, and kept there "ay and quhile he be relevit thairfra be the said Johne Vaus, Baillie, and Counsell, his offence publischit, and crave the said Baillie and Counsell forgiveness thairof." Some years later, December 23, 1607, a certain John Whiteford spoke injuriously of Bailie Vaus while sitting in judgment. He was pardoned on asking forgiveness, but was warned that on the next offence he would be banished the burgh. Four years after this, May 4, 1611, Patrick White, Gateside, and his wife, were found drunk in the street, and when challenged by the Bailie "uttered malicious speeches." The Bailie at once clapped them in "the stocks at the Cross" and fined them five pounds, cautioning them that if they were found drunk in the streets again, they would be fined twenty pounds. Cases of this kind, however, were comparatively few; the same can hardly be said of cases of drunkenness.

The Bailies and Town Council often sat as a sort of Small Debt Court. The cases which came before them of this kind were more numerous than the police or criminal cases. As might be expected, many of them are exceedingly curious. Generally the complainants sued for the price of goods sold or for the fulfilment of agreements, such as between servants and mistresses. A number of the debts sued for were for meat and drink. The chief interest in these cases, however, is in the light they throw upon the prices of different commodities at the time. Reference will be made to them in the chapter on Markets and Values.

After the Reformation, the Magistrates took over the duty of the Probate and Administration of Wills. When application was made to them, they appointed an Inquest, consisting of members of the Town Council, to whom were added a number of the burgesses. These, after examination, reported on the will, and thereafter proceeded to administration. Their reports were frequently of great length, and though sometimes drawn up in Latin, were, as a rule, in the

vernacular. Minors were often the special care of the Magistrates, and were practically wards of court.

Contracts or agreements were frequently laid before the Magistrates and Town Council, with the request that they might be entered in the books of the court. Their engrossment there gave them the force of Acts of Court.

In letting, as well as in feuing, the burghal lands, the Town Council exercised the greatest care. Every transfer of land was entered in their Records. From time to time a number of curious regulations were made respecting the holding of the lands. When a burgess died, his lawful heir got only so much of the common land his father had held as the Bailies and Council considered it expedient for him to have, the rest going to the widow for the term of her life. If, however, she married or was convicted of immorality, one half of this was taken from her. If a burgess married a widow having common land, "the said widow's common land," it was enacted, "sall return to the Baillies and Counsale, and the haile or sa meikle thairof as they sall think expedient sall be given to the air gotten betwixt her and her former husband." If there was no heir, the land was to be "roupit." No burgess could "have or bruik any mare common land nor [than] twa aikers." A burgess residing outside the burgh could not hold common land.

According to their light, as has been already hinted, the burghal authorities acted as a Board of Health or Sanitation. As early as September, 1594, the question of the pollution of the Cart was discussed, and on the 10th of that month it "was statut and ordanit that na person or persons lay any lymit hydis in the water of Cart above William Lang's dure," under a penalty of twenty shillings. Their efforts to keep the streets cleaner were not, as we have seen, of much effect. Not only the shops of butchers, but other houses also, even upon the High Street, had their "midding steads" in front of them. The most that the authorities could do for a long time, or rather the most they did for many years, was to order the "middings" to be removed every Friday. Subsequently they ordained that no "fulzie or middings" should

be allowed to lie "on the calsays langar than forty-eight hours"—January 29, 1607. Some of the streets were "calseyed," and on each side of the street was a deep gutter, often redolent with all manner of evil smells.

The first place to be "calseyed" was about the Market Cross. On October 14, 1603, permission was given to all and sundry who chose to avail themselves of it, to gather and lay together "calsay stanes" for "bigging ane calsay" there. It was to superintend the "bigging" of this and other "calseyis" that the first Master of Works was appointed. In 1606, it was agreed in the Town Council that "the causey forward to the Wellmeadow should be causeyed," and the heritors were required "to gather and lead stanes" for the purpose, and to lay them before their own properties. In 1610, the Master of Works was directed to make "ane calsay betwixt the Abbey yet [gate] and the kirk style." A "calsay" was made in the School Wynd, also "fornent the Blackhoil" in St. Mirin's Wynd, and in "Moss Raw heid." On January 28, 1619, causeying work was ordered to be done "from James Pow's to the Wallneuk and where John Matthie dwells in the Wallside, 3 ells broad; and from the Lady Kirk to the Seedhill mill so far as thought neidful of the breadth foresaid." It was further appointed that "the haill burgesses, indwellers, and stallingers within the burgh be taxed for leading of the stanes to the said causey." For the protection of the calsays which had been "biggit upon the grit expense and charges of the town," and to prevent them being broken or injured, an Act was passed—July 8, 1596—forbidding "milne stanes" to be "led through the calsay upon the edge," and ordaining that as soon as they reached the ports the millstones "should be led upon ane styp and drawn through the town be hors or men." From this it would appear that the calsays were, at that date, all within the ports.

The calsaying or paving would doubtless help to keep the streets in a better condition, but improvement in cleanliness came slowly. In 1603, instead of forbidding "middings"

altogether upon the streets, the Magistrates only forbade them "without the common gutter." The most strenuous of their efforts in connection with sanitation were made in times of plague and pestilence. They were then thoroughly alarmed, and did their best, but that, as we shall see, was not much, though not less than was done elsewhere.

The town did not throw open its ports to all and sundry. Its population was, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, about a thousand, and the Bailies and Town Council, while taking a quite paternal interest in the inhabitants, kept a sharp eye upon all strangers. "Orray" men and women were sent about their business without delay. So were vagabond beggars, the town refusing to support any beggars who were not born within its gates. "Single" or "solitary" women, that is, unmarried women who were not serving as domestic servants, were treated in much the same way as vagabonds. Burgesses were forbidden to lodge them. On May 8, 1595, the authorities ordained "that na yong womane wanting father or mother remane within the Burgh fra Whitsonday first unfeit with mistress, and gif they be apprehendit within the Burgh unfeit after the said time, they sall be put in ward and therafter banished the toun. Nather sal it be leisum to any man to set sic personis housis." Still more explicit is an Act passed, October 11, 1610, which bears that "no orray person, man nor woman servants, abide nor be suffered to remain in the Town unfeit, nor convene in housis, spinning work of their own, but that they be feit and work for meit and fee under the pain of banishing of the Town." Anyone letting a house to them was liable to a fine of ten pounds. A fine of ten pounds was the penalty also for letting a house to anyone excommunicated. When servants went out without permission, their employers were empowered to keep three shillings and fourpence off their wages for each offence.

From the time he took up his residence permanently in the Place of Paisley, down to the year 1598, Lord Claud Hamilton kept himself in constant touch with the affairs of the burgh. He would find them less exciting than politics,

but he may have found them quite as interesting. They were certainly less dangerous. On July 24, 1597, he was honoured with a visit from Anne of Denmark, the Queen Consort. The news of her coming threw the Town Council into a state of excitement, and great preparations were made to receive her. On July 8, it was "concludit" in the Council "that thair be ane pyntour sent for to Glasgow for drawing of some drauchts in the Kirk as sal be thocht maist necessar for the present," and to put the ports in a state of repair. What happened during the visit the Records do not say.

The following year, Lord Claud ceased to take any active part in the management of the affairs of the burgh, or in the administration of his estates and revenues. On October 2, 1598, a Letter of Factory and Commission signed by him in favour of his son, James, Master of Paisley, was read to the Town Council, and under that date is entered in the Town Records. It empowers the Master of Paisley to act as his father's factor and commissioner, and, among other things, authorizes him "to elect, nominate, and chews yeirlie ane of the Baillies of the said Burgh."

The Master of Paisley, who is better known as the first Earl of Abercorn, followed the example of his father by closely associating himself with the affairs of the town. One of the first pieces of business the Council took in hand after his accession to the Provostship, was the repairing of the bridge. An Act of Parliament was obtained for the purpose. In it the magistrates were authorized to levy tolls at the bridge on all horse, cattle, and sheep, crossing during the next nineteen years.

In 1617, the Provost had the honour of receiving James VI. at the Place of Paisley. The occasion was celebrated with great rejoicings, and a bombastic address, after the fashion of the times, was delivered before the King by the son of Sir James Semple of Beltrees, a boy of nine, who spoke of the King as "Our royal Phœbus," and of himself as "your Majesty's own old Parrot." Lord Claud was too old to take part in the festivities, but the King's visit must have

gladdened his heart. At the same time it would remind him of incidents in the past of a very different kind.

The Earl predeceased his father, dying the year after the King's visit, at Monkton, March 23, 1618. In his last will and testament he expressed the desire to be buried "in the sepulcher where my brethir, my sesteris, and bairnes lyis, in the Iyll callit S. Mirinis Iyll, at the south heid of the crose church of Paslay." He was an able man, and received many honours from the King. His earldom dated from 1606. On several occasions he sat as a member of the General Assembly of the Kirk. Lord Claud survived him three years, dying in 1621, at the age of seventy-eight.



CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRESBYTERY.

The Presbytery of Paisley was not constituted till the year 1590. Previously it had formed part of the Presbytery of Glasgow. Like the members of other Presbyteries, those of the Presbytery of Paisley were full of zeal for the form of religion by law established. When at home in their several parishes, besides the discharge of their ordinary pastoral duties, their chief business appears to have been to search out Catholics, absentees from communion and preachings, desecrators of the Sabbath, fornicators, and adulterers. They had also to carry out the instructions of the Presbytery and of their own Kirk Sessions against such of their flocks as had rendered themselves amenable to discipline. Their meetings in Presbytery were opened with prayer, or, as their minutes bear, "by the invocation of God His name." One of the brethren then gave an "exercise," or exposition of a prescribed passage of Scripture. Another "eked," or gave a practical application of the passage. A fourth followed with a discussion on some controverted point in theology or ecclesiastical polity. Similar preliminaries were appointed for the next day of meeting, and then came the business of the day.

As a rule, the first business taken up was the reports of the brethren respecting their different parishes. In these they narrated the steps they had taken to carry out the injunctions of the Presbytery, or laid information against defaulting parishioners. After the consideration of these, the cases set down for trial came on, which, owing to the unwillingness of parties cited to appear and give evidence and to the infrequency of the meetings of the Presbytery—usually once a month—often dragged out to a wearisome length.

The jurisdiction of the Presbytery extended over nearly the whole of the County of Renfrew, and included fourteen parishes, that is, the whole of the parishes in the county with the exception of those of Eaglesham and Cathcart.

The brethren had scarcely settled down to work when they found their hands sufficiently full to satisfy the most energetic or fanatical. The idea that the country turned naturally and spontaneously to Protestantism, and that immediately after the Reformed Faith had been established by Act of Parliament, an immense improvement at once took place in the moral and religious condition of the people, is erroneous. Indications that the idea is erroneous have already been given, and as we proceed others will appear. The ecclesiastical rulers of the county were also the ecclesiastical rulers of the town of Paisley. Any illustrations, therefore, drawn from their Records will serve equally well to show the way in which they ruled the town.

Mr. Smeaton, the third minister of Paisley, left for the Principalship of the University of Glasgow in 1580. Of any successor to him nothing is heard till about the time that Lord Claud Hamilton returned finally from exile and took up his abode in the Place of Paisley. The individual appointed then was Mr. Andro Knox, a very different man from his gentle and kindly predecessor, Mr. Smeaton. He belonged to the Knoxes of Ranfurlie, and came from Lochwinnoch, where he had been minister since 1585. A man of fanatical and imperious temper, he was untroubled by feelings of consideration for the opinions and scruples of others. As in the case of other Protestants of the time, and of most religionists, the word "toleration" was not to be found in his vocabulary. He appears to have believed that his chief mission was to find out Catholics or heretics and to secure the punishment of those who ventured to absent themselves from communion and the stated preachings. Lord Claud was a suspected Catholic; so also was his wife. But the Earl of Abercorn, their son, was a staunch Protestant, and, as already stated, sometimes sat as a member of the General Assembly of the Kirk. The Magistrates, also, as we have

seen, were as forward to enforce the law against absentees from preachings or from the communion, and to punish desecrators of the Sabbath, as they were to warn off criminals and to punish crime. They may have been so merely for the purpose of maintaining public order; but it is hardly likely. We must judge them by their actions; and judged by these, they were to all appearance zealous adherents of the New Faith. Knowing that he had the support of the Magistrates se as well as that of the Presbytery, and in all likelihood the concurrence of the Earl of Abercorn, Knox, soon after his arrival, set himself to clean out the "nest of Papistrie" over which he had been placed as minister.

An opportunity will occur further on of showing how those who were suspected of Catholic tendencies were treated. In this chapter I will confine myself to giving some account of how other offenders were dealt with by the Presbytery.

Among the most common offences against the discipline of the Church was absence from communion. The Presbytery Records do not begin until September 16, 1602, or eight years after the extant Records of the Town Council; but the first case they record is that of the Laird of Stanely, who, as Mr. Andro Knox's parishioner, must have been denounced to the Presbytery by him. Mr. Andro had evidently had a meeting with the Laird previous to the meeting of the Presbytery on September 16, 1602; for, in the information then laid before the brethren there is given as the Laird's excuse for not attending, that he had come to the kirk of Paisley with the intention of communicating, but had been "stayit be the sicht of some of his unfriendis there at the said holy actioun."[1] This the brethren "estemit no relevant excuse," and instructed Mr. Andro to summon him to appear at the next meeting. When he appeared before the court on October 14, he confesses himself penitent, but inasmuch as he "allegit that he might not convenientlie resort to his paroche

[1] Unless otherwise stated, the quotations in this chapter are from the MS. Records of the Presbytery of Paisley, for access to which I have to thank the kindness of my brethren.

kirk of Paslay for sindrie occasiones of deadlie feud," he was ordered to find caution in 500 merks, to attend regularly with his family the church at Renfrew, to submit himself to its discipline, to compear personally in the kirk of Paisley on the following Sunday in time of sermon, and there to "confess himself penitent for not communicating with his brethren and nichtbouris, and that his abstinance tharefra procedit of na scrupil in Religion, bot of lack of dew preparation." He was further ordered to make amends by communicating "at the Holie Table of the Lord upon the first occasioun that the samin sal be ministrat within ony kirk of the Presbytery of Paslay, dew intimation tharof being made to him be Mr. John Hay," minister at Renfrew. The decision was ridiculously severe, but was apparently acquiesced in.

The case of the Countess of Glencairn belongs to the history of the county rather than to the history of Paisley. Still it is worth citing. It was complicated with the further offence of listening to "preiching in ane private hous, in the Place of Finlason." There were other circumstances connected with it, all of which come out in the complaint, or as it is called "the grief," which Mr. Daniel Cunningham, the minister of the parish of Kilmacolm, laid before the Presbytery on February 10, 1603. It runs as follows:—"Anent the grief proponit be Mr. Daniel Cunningham, minister at Kilmacolm, tuiching the detaining and haldin of my Lord Marquis of Hamilton, my Lord Erle Glencairne, and thare families, within the Place of Finlaston[1] upon the Lord His day, fra resorting to the ordinar Paroche Kirk of Kilmacolm, and that be the domestick preiching of Mr. Patrik Walkinschaw and Mr. Luk Stirling, being absent fra thare Kirks in the companie forsad for the tyme." For the "remeid" of this offence, the brethren "ordanit the said grief to be proponit to the next Synodall Assembly, and the judgment of the brethren thare to be receavit thareanent." The Earl of

[1] This was the place where, in 1556, John Knox held "domestick preiching," and celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the reformed ritual before the Reformation.

Glencairn appears to have submitted to the Presbytery. Not so his Countess. The Presbytery summoned her, admonished her, prayed for her, travelled with her, but all in vain. She would neither give in her confession of faith, nor communicate, nor attend church. The last we hear of the case is on March 15, 1604, when the following entry occurs in the Presbytery's Minute Book: "The Brethren having used all kind of diligence according to the Act of last Synod, baith be commissioners and uther wayes at the Recht Noble Ladie, Dame Margaret Cambell, Countess of Glencairne sould have reparit to the Kirk of Kilmacom, her ordinarie Kirk, for the heiring of the Word of God and communion with the Bodie and Blude of the Lord Jesus; and yit to remayne obstinat and disobedient; and as lykwayis understanding that the said Richt Noble and Potent Ladie will not compeir in Paslay befoir thaim: Theirfor they have ordenit and be thir presentis ordenis the Moderator to pas to the Clerk and Moderator of the Synodall Assemblie and purchess summones to summond the said Noble Ladie befoir the nixt Synodall Assemblie to be hauldin at Glasgow the xxviij day of Marche, to heir hirself decernit to have done wrong in her contenuall abseinting hirself fra the reverent heiring of the Word and resort of the Sacramentis as said is at the Kirk of Kilmacom for ten years bygane or therby, and to be ordenit in all tyme cuming to resort to the said Kirk, that be hir example the meiner sort may not longer be mooved to contemn the Word of God." What happened after this is not recorded. Perhaps her ladyship fled the country, or perhaps she died. It may be taken as certain that she did not submit. Her submission would have been too notable a victory not to be recorded in the books of the Presbytery.

The case of the Dowager Lady Duchal, a daughter of the family of Knox of Ranfurlie, and second wife of John Porterfield, who had purchased Duchal from Lord Lyle, was more protracted even than that of the Countess of Glencairn. On the death of her husband, she removed to her dower house near Renfrew, the original seat of the Porterfields, and

her special tormentor was Mr. John Hay, the minister of the parish in which she resided. How long her case had been going on before it was brought up in the Presbytery is not known; but it is evident that it had been going on for some time; for when Mr. John Hay laid his complaint before the Presbytery, March 10, 1603, he declared that "Jean Knox, Lady Duchal, remaynes contumax, refusing to heir the Word of God preichit in the Kirk of Renfrew or to communicat the Holy Sacrament." In dealing with her, the Presbytery exercised all their ingenuity, and exhausted every form of process known to them, except that of referring her case to the Synod. The brethren summoned her, admonished her *pro primo*, *pro secundo*, *pro tertio;* they prayed for her in like manner; they "travelled" with her, and did whatever their perverse ingenuity could suggest in order to get their way with her. Once she appeared before them and seemed to conform. Soon after, she was "delaited" again, and the whole process of praying, admonishing, etc., was gone through again. She compeared before them again, but instead of obeying their instructions or promising to do so, she flatly refused to attend church or to communicate "for plane malice," the Records say, "that she had conceived in her heart against her pastor, Mr. John Hay, for sundry wrongs which she alledged he had done to her, and which she took in hand to lay before the Presbytery." Her case first appears in the Records under date March 10, 1603. It went on, appearing every now and again, till September, 1605, when it ceases to disfigure the pages of the Records. The poor lady was about ninety years of age, and the worriting to which she was subjected by Mr. John Hay, her pastor, and his brethren, would do nothing to make her latter end pleasant. If she died under their hands, she would escape, whatever her faults, to a gentler and more merciful Judge.

The cases of the Countess of Glencairn and Lady Duchal were exceptional. The majority of those who were accused of the same faults usually confessed and submitted themselves to the directions of the Presbytery after the manner of Maxwell, the Laird of Stanely. Many more cases, in all pro-

bability, were dealt with by the Kirk Sessions, and never got the length of the Presbytery. The number recorded both in the Minute Books of the Presbytery of Paisley and in similar Minute Books, while they bear witness to the extreme vigilance of the ministers of the time, show that conformity was far from universal, and that there was a disposition on the part of many to resist the new order of things.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday, whenever the date fixed for holding them chanced to fall on that day, had been practically suppressed. In the Records of the Presbytery of Paisley, under the date October 14, 1602, there is mention of a market called the Fair of the Hill, which, according to the usual reckoning, fell to be held on Sunday, the sixth of November following, but as there is no further reference to it, there can be little doubt that the suggestion of the Presbytery that the fair should be held on the Saturday preceding, was adopted.

There were other Sunday practices which were not suppressed so easily. For generation after generation Sunday had, to a large extent, been spent as a holiday. The morning was given to God and religion, and the rest of the day was generally spent in paying visits or in amusements on the village green, with piping and dancing, or in taking part in other innocent sports and recreations. James VI. had sided with the people, and had guaranteed to them their Sunday sports and amusements, on condition that they attended church in the morning. There is no allegation that these Sunday sports and pastimes were accompanied or followed by anything that was morally objectionable. But to the ecclesiastical rulers of the country, as well in towns as in villages, they were all abominations, and the cases brought before them were numerous.

On June 19, 1606, the brethren of the Paisley Presbytery were informed by Mr. Andro Law, minister of Neilston, of "the great profanation and abusing of the Sabbath day by the great resorting and hanting of the common people of sundry neighbouring parishes to the green of Little Caldwell,

whereupon they profane the Sabbath day by piping and dancing." They were further informed that the people who most resorted there were the parishioners of Neilston and Lochwinnoch. They therefore instructed the ministers of these parishes "to inhibit and forbid openlie, out of the pulpit," their parishioners "to make any resort to the said green," in any time coming, with certification that those found contravening the inhibition would be proceeded against with the censures of the Kirk. Hew Erston, who kept the green, was ordered to be cited before them at their meeting on June 30. The inhibition appears to have been without effect, for at the meeting of the Presbytery on July 17, this information was repeated, and the two ministers were directed to insist in forbidding the "sklander." On August 21, in the same year, John Paterson, piper in Mearns, was also summoned before the Presbytery for keeping a green on Sundays at Over Pollok; on July 2, 1607, John Hall of Kilbarchan was summoned "for profanation of the Sabbath day by keeping a green every Sabbath at afternoon, with piping and dancing;" and on the same day another John Hall was summoned for keeping a green at Neilston with piping and dancing every Sunday afternoon. None of them, however, seems to have paid much attention to the citations. Paterson, Hall of Neilston, and Robert Fisher, a piper residing in Lochwinnoch, were cited, admonished and prayed for at various dates; but Hall of Kilbarchan only seems to have compeared. On September 3, 1607, he confessed his fault, and was ordained to find caution to the Session of Kilbarchan of twenty pounds, not to keep a green again.

But to these rulers all sorts of sports, games and pastimes, whether indulged in on Sundays or on other days, were equally obnoxious as savouring of sin. Their ideas of morality and life were based upon those of the Puritans of England and Geneva, and they endeavoured to force them upon the people with an iron hand. What little of sunshine was still left in the lives of the lower classes, they apparently wished to take away, and to make the tempers of all as sour and gloomy as their own. Amusements which came down

from the old times especially incensed them. The keeping of Christmas, New Year's Day, May Day, Easter, or any of the ancient holidays, they sternly set their faces against, and were swift to punish all who attempted on these days to keep up the ancient games or festivities.

On January 19, 1604, Robert Aitken and Robert Miller were summoned before the Presbytery for having "superstitiously behaved themselves by ringing of girdles on the day of January"; so too, on the same occasion, were Hendrie Paslay and three others, for having "after a profane and godless manner behaved themselves by disguising themselves, which is nothing less than an abomination in the eyes of the Lord." James Andro and a number of others were denounced because "they used superstitious plays a little before Yule"; also because "on the day callit Yuill-Evening [Christmas Eve] they came through the clachan [village] of Kilbarchan making open proclamation and giving open liberty to all men to take pastime for the space of eight days, and usit superstitious plays." For doing these things Andro and his companions were summoned before the Presbytery. On compearing, they were sent to the civil magistrate, with the request that he would "punish thame civilly in bodie or gear or both as he thinks fit." At the same time, Mr. Andro Knox and Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the ministers of Paisley and Lochwinnoch, were commissioned to sit with the session of the parish to which the offenders belonged and "to try and convict and punish them according to the laws of the Kirk." On April 20, 1604, William Aitken was accused of using "superstitious pastyme by disguising himself," and confessed that upon the night in question "he put his cloke about his waist in form of women's clothing, that he put his sark [shirt] above his doublet, and his napkin upon his face." The brethren thereupon ordained him "to remove the sclander by making his repentance two days in sackcloth, and that in the public place of repentance." For "going superstitiously at Yule in dancing," and because "in great contempt of God and His Kirk, he had gone through the kirkyard with a drawn quhinger in his hand," which he confessed he had done,

William Dougall was ordained to purge himself "by making his repentance in his linen clothes two Sabbath days." Four individuals in the parish of Mearns were accused and found guilty of *nicht-waking*, which is a common offence in that parochin," and were ordered to appear before the court on September 4, 1606. Apparently they refused; and as on October 9 there was "a suspicion of plague within the parochin of Mearns," the Presbytery at its meeting on that day deemed it expedient to take no further action against them. The plague, or the brethren's fear of the plague, saved them.

The rage for the discovery of witchcraft and witches, which afterwards occupied so large a place in the ecclesiastical and civil history of the country, had not as yet broken out. Everywhere, however, there was a profound belief in sorcery, and the Presbytery was continually on the watch to punish those who were reputed to be in the habit of practising it. A curious case, which, fifty years later, might have been attended with serious consequences, is recorded on almost the first page of the Presbytery's Records. It is narrated as follows:—"September 16, 1602. Anent the sclander given be Gavan Stewart, burgess of Paslay, in prostrating himself before Martha Pinkertoun upon his knees, craving the helthe of Gavan Ralstoun, younger of that Ilk, fra her, as was allegit, the said Gavan compeirand, as he was lauchtfullie summond to answere for the sclander foresaid, and beand accusit of the givin of the said occasion of sclander foresaid, confessit that he yed to the said Martha and said to her, 'It is said thou hes tane the helthe of this man Gavan Ralstoun fra him, the quhilk if thou hes dune, I pray thee, for Godis sak, gev him agane'; but he denyit any humiliation to have been made upon his knees to her or lifting of his bonnett. Therefore and in respect of the said Martha's affirmatioun conforme to the said accusatioun, the brethren hes summond the said Gavan *apud acta*, and ordanit also the said Martha to be summond before them in the kirk of Paslay the last day of this instant for farder tryell takin in the said cause." Stewart satisfied the Presbytery, and Mr. Andro Knox, who,

as his minister, had his case in hand, was directed on the fourteenth of the following month to pass from all further admonitions against him.

Dealers in "sawes," *i.e*, salves or ointments, were usually suspected of using charms. Andro Robeson, a parishioner of Lochwinnoch, was delaited to the Presbytery as "suspected of charming, making and applying sawes to divers diseases, he being altogether unlearned, seducing thereby the common people." This was on November 27, 1620. The following month, being summoned, he boldly appeared before the Presbytery. The brethren alleged against him "sundry accusations as of charming and making and applying sawes for blasting and ill winds." They admitted that the charges rested only on common report, and that for the charming there was no evidence. When asked to confess, Robeson admitted that he made salves and gave them to sick people. The brethren, however, would have it that the people might be seduced and deceived by means of them, and therefore forbade him in all time coming "to make or give these kind of sawes under the pane of fourtie punds *toties quoties*." Things were evidently ripening for the great outburst of superstition which marked the era of witches. On June 24, 1596, about a quarter of a century earlier, the Bailies of the burgh took a much more sensible view of things. For "expenses depursit be her for saw [ointment] and heiling of his heid," they ordered Robert Moodie to pay Bessie Knox thirty shillings. Had Bessie Knox lived fifty or sixty years later, she would probably have been apprehended as a witch, and her success in healing Moodie's broken head would in all likelihood have been held as proof that she practised the black art.

Over the marital relationship the Presbytery watched with the keenest suspicion. Any informality in the marriage of a couple, such as the omission to publish the banns of marriage, subjected the offending couple, not the minister who performed the marriage ceremony, to the discipline of the Presbytery. Husband and wife were summoned before the court, and compelled to clear themselves of the offence in the

public place of repentance in the parish church; after which the minister of the parish ratified and approved the marriage. Cases of "adherence," or rather of separation, were numerous. Usually they resolved themselves into cases of confessed or alleged conjugal infidelity. On the report of a man and his wife living separately reaching the minister, he was required to denounce them before his Kirk Session, and in the event of the Kirk Session failing to bring the parties together, they were reported to the Presbytery, when a process of "adherence" was set up, resulting usually in a confession of infidelity by one of the parties. Cases of adultery were numerous, but only the more obstinate offenders were brought before the Presbytery; the others being disposed of by the Kirk Sessions. Their number illustrates the morality or immorality of the time. The punishments for the offence were sometimes singular and cruel. On July 5, 1604, a confessed adulteress was ordained to remove her "slander" by "kowing [cutting off the hair] of her heid and standing sax Sundayis in the joggis fra the first bell to the thred, and that in hir linen clothes; and then that she cum to the place of publick repentance within the kirk . . . and thar mak hir repentance publicklie vij Sundayes."

In all this Mr. Andro Knox, the minister of Paisley, had a large hand. In connection with the cases arising in the burgh or parish of Paisley, he was the chief informer and the chief prosecutor. But his most congenial employment was that of ferreting out Catholics, and so successful was he in this that he obtained a commission from the King empowering certain noblemen and barons and himself and any others "whom he thought meitest to employ," to seek and apprehend "all excommunicat papists, Jesuits, seminarie priestis, and suspect trafficquaris with the King of Spayne and utheris foreynaris to the subversion of Goddis trew religioun." His zeal was unbounded, and to say that in this connection he did no good, would be unjust.

Goaded on by the fierce persecution to which they were subjected, the Catholics had begun to intrigue for the overthrow of the Government, and were already negotiating with

Philip II. of Spain in the hope that with foreign assistance they might be enabled to obtain relief from the oppression of their tormentors. Suspicions were general, and an attempt on the part of the Spaniards to land troops on the coast was fully expected. One of the conspirators was George Ker, a doctor of laws, and brother of the abbot of Newbattle, who had been excommunicated by the Presbytery of Haddington for popery. Hearing that Ker was in the neighbourhood of Paisley, and of his intended departure on his Spanish mission, Knox, accompanied by some scholars of Glasgow and other friends, traced him to Glasgow, and thence down the Clyde, where they managed to lay hands on him just as he was about to set sail out of Fairlie Road, by the Isles of Cumbrae. His chests were searched, but no compromising papers were discovered in them; but in the sleeves of a sailor's shirt were found, along with other documents, the famous Spanish Blanks.[1] Ker was conveyed by Lord Ross of Hawkhead as far as Calder, but such was "the dread entertained of the power which might lie behind this solitary man and his packet of letters that he was detained in Calder until the Magistrates of Edinburgh summoned courage to go out on Sunday evening (New Year's eve, 1592) with sixty horse and two hundred footmen to convey him to the Tolbooth." For this notable capture Knox received the thanks of the Privy Council.

Another adventure in which Mr. Andro was engaged, though quite as successful in its object, was not quite so happy in its results, at least to himself. Hugh Barclay of Ladyland, who had already been imprisoned for his religion, but, having managed to escape, had passed to Spain, and there "trafficqued and had intelligence with the ennemeyis of the trew religion," was known to be hovering about the Clyde with the intention of seizing Ailsa Craig, and of then, after having fortified and provisioned it, holding it for the King of Spain. Knox, as soon as he heard of this, acting under

[1] See the Scottish Review, vol. xxii., where the whole subject of the Spanish Blanks is treated in an interesting article by T. G. Law, LL.D.

the commission referred to above, "imployit himselff" and a number of his friends to prevent the seizure. When Barclay arrived, he found Knox and his party already in possession of the Craig, and when called upon to surrender, drew his sword, and being hard pressed in the fight, stepped backward, and falling into the sea, was drowned. His friends charged Knox with his death, and resolved to make it the occasion of a deadly feud. It was now Knox's turn to be alarmed, and in his anxiety he appealed to the King in Council, who, on June 8, 1597, justified what he had done, declaring his execution of his commission in the manner described "loyal and good service done to His Majesty and country," forbidding any persons to molest him, and charging all Magistrates and others in office to assist in protecting him.[1]

Imperious in temper, headstrong, and not over scrupulous, Mr. Andro Knox did not get all things to go according to his mind, even in Paisley, where in things ecclesiastical he was practically supreme. Shortly before the Presbytery Records begin, he had dismissed Mr. John Gilchrist without any warrant of the kirk "fra his service and cuir" in the kirk of Paisley as "Reader," and had caused the Bailies of the town to displace him "fra teaching of thair scule." He had also induced the Presbytery to convict him on a charge of adultery with Margaret Ralston, daughter of the Laird of Ralston and wife of John Vaus. Gilchrist, no doubt supported by others, complained to the Privy Council. In his petition he speaks somewhat contemptuously of the proceedings of the Presbytery, saying that in the trial of him they used "the depositionis and testimonies of wemen-husies and bairdis," that the Presbytery were not competent judges in the matter, "because there is no pursuer or informer but the said Mr. Andro himself," who has raised the slander and is prosecuting without the knowledge or consent of John Vaus,

[1] Register of Privy Council, v. 393. For a slightly different account of the affair, see Hatfield MSS., vii. 246. On July 7, 1597, Scrope reported to Burghley that Lord Herries had been convicted before the Privy Council of supplying Barclay with a "great sum" of money for his enterprise.—Bain, Cal. Border Papers, ii. 357.

spouse of the said Margaret, who has no suspicion "of ony sic crime," but esteems her as "ane honest and faithfull wyfe," and "will not concur in ony sic perseute aganis her, bot hes altogidder dissented thairfra and is verie hiechlie commovit with the said Maister Andro and remanent ministeris of the Presbyterie for sclandering of his said wyf." Gilchrist points out, too, that the charge being criminal, the Presbytery had no jurisdiction, and that if tried at all, he ought to be tried "before the Justice be ane honest and famous assyse" [jury], and declares that Knox has been moved to all this through "having conceived hatred and malice against him, because he would not dispone to him his lands of Bogside and Sandyfurd." The case was called November 7, 1600, when neither Mr. Andro nor the Presbytery, nor any one for them put in an appearance; whereupon the Lords discharged Knox and his fellow-presbyters from taking any proceedings against him, till he had been tried before the Justice.[1]

Mr. Andro, who had brought so many to discipline, was himself about to be brought beneath the lash. On October 1, 1604, he complained to the Burgh Court that he was in

[1]Reg. of Privy Council, vi. 171. Gilchrist was a man of some means. From Archbishop Hamilton he obtained a charter of half of the lands of Nether Gallowhills, five acres of land called the Knaiffisland, the lands called Goosehouse lands, the lands of Nethir Ward called Houseward, three acres lying within the dykes of Monks' Shaw wood with houses and yards occupied by George Marshall and the "Forrestschip of the wod of Monkschaw with the use of the grass of the meadow, when it is mown, as the said George usit, and all others their pertinents lying within the Lordship and Regality of Paisley." In 1572. Lord Semple tried to deprive him of these possessions, but failed (Reg. of Privy Council, ii. 184). He also owned the lands of Sandyford (Town Council Records, July 6, 1596), which he sold on March 49, 1581, to John Cuninghame, son of umquhile John Cuninghame of Craigends (Craigends Papers, i. 287). On July 6, 1596, he was charged before the Bailies of Paisley with pursuing James Stewart "with ane pistolat" in the dwelling-house and close of Robert Semple, clerk; and on June 16, Mr. John Gilchrist, "sometyme schoolmaster of Paisley," and Gavin Ralston, younger, were accused before the Privy Conncil of using fire-arms against Alexander Master of Elphinstone. Gilchrist appeared: Ralston did not, and was denounced a rebel (Reg. of Privy Council, vi. 259).

danger of assault from a certain Gavan Stewart, a burgess, perhaps the same Gavan Stewart whom he had charged before the Presbytery with going down on his knees before Martha Pinkerton and craving the health of Gavan Ralston. But whether or not, Stewart was bound over to keep the peace and not to molest the minister. Unfortunately for Mr. Andro, before they had left the presence of the court, Stewart let fall some words which so incensed him, that he struck and wounded him on the head to the effusion of blood. On the 9th of the following month, Knox appeared before the Bailies and confessed himself in the wrong, but they refused to proceed with the case until Lord Abercorn, who was presiding in the court when the offence was committed, was again presiding. Knox had a pressing reason for his confession. The offence had been reported to the Presbytery three days after it had been committed, and that body, who, to do them justice, favoured neither high nor low, immediately suspended him "from the functions of the ministry during the will of the said Presbytery and Session of the Kirk of Paisley." In the meantime, things had grown worse. Notwithstanding his suspension, Knox had set the Presbytery at defiance by administering the sacrament of baptism, and at their meeting on October 25, the brethren had resolved to call him to account. He seems to have vailed his pride a good deal, for on the same day that he appeared before the Magistrates, the Presbytery found the offers he had made to Stewart "reasonable," and concluded to repone him in the manner described in the following minute: "16th November, 1604—The quhilk day the brethren with the advice of the Session and Counsale of Paislay, advysing upon the form of the repossessioun of Mr. Andro Knox to his lawful ordinarie functioun of all the poyntis of his ministerie at Paislay, has ordenit that the said Mr. Andro sall sit in the maist patent place of the kirk of Paslay upon Sunday nixtocum befoir noone, beand the 19th day of November instant, and ther, efter that Mr. John Hay, appoyntit be the brethren to supplie the place that day, hes delaitit the fault and offence of the said Mr. Andro to the people, the said Mr. Andro in

all humilitie sall confess his offence to God, his brethren, and the partie offendit, and sal sit doun upon his knees and ask God mercie for the same. The same being done, the Baillies and some of the honest men of the parochin sall receave him be the hand."[1]

The scene in the parish kirk of Paisley on the appointed day, Sunday, November 19, 1604, must have been extremely humiliating to Mr. Andro Knox. To many, there can be little doubt it was a scene in which they secretly, if not openly, rejoiced. The place of repentance, to which he had brought so many, was now occupied by Mr. Andro himself, and it was scarcely in human nature for Grissel Semple, Gavan Stewart, the Laird of Stanely, and others, not to be present and to feel some satisfaction in seeing this intolerant persecutor having the same measure meted out to himself as he had meted out to them.

After this, the place which he had made so uncomfortable for others, Mr. Knox was soon to find was no abiding place for himself, much as he desired that it should be. There are signs here and there that he was not much in favour either with his brethren in the ministry or with many of the inhabitants of the town or parish, and when the opportunity arose, they were not slow to show their dislike for him. At Court, his political conduct had brought him into favourable notice, and on the restoration of Episcopacy by James VI., he was appointed Bishop of the Isles. After visiting his see, he desired to continue minister of Paisley, and proposed that he should be allowed a coadjutor or colleague; but neither the Presbytery nor the Bailies and inhabitants of the town would entertain the proposal. They had evidently had enough of him. Nevertheless, he clung tenaciously to his living in Paisley, and it was not until November 12, 1607, that he reluctantly resigned the charge and departed to his see. There he indulged in his political proclivities. His chief exploit was the capture of Dunivaig Castle, on the island of Islay; but it 1614 it was wrested from him by the

[1] Presbytery Records MS.

notorious left-handed Coll of Islay. At the head of seventy men Knox tried to retake the castle, but failed. On June 26, 1611, he was appointed Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, and managed to retain possession of the two sees, and to draw their stipends, till 1619, when he resigned the bishopric of the Isles, and was succeeded in it by his son Thomas, who was subsequently appointed Justiciar and Steward of the Isles.[1] The father died in 1632. When describing the bishops, a contemporary writer says of Knox, "The Yles loves to deceive."[2]

Mr. Knox was succeeded in Paisley by Mr. Patrick Hamilton, who, like his predecessor, came from Lochwinnoch. Mr. Hamilton entered upon his duties in the parish in December, 1607. Unfortunately, the first volume of the Presbytery Records closes on the 24th of that month. The second extant volume does not take up the story until April 20, 1626, and thus for close on twenty years the invaluable guidance of these records is wanting.

The picture of Paisley under its ecclesiastical rulers from 1585 to 1607, though not attractive, is not singular. The same state of affairs prevailed throughout the Lowlands. As at first managed, the Protestant Church in Scotland was not an unmixed blessing. It contributed little towards the advancement of civilization, and nothing towards the development of human thought and religious freedom, or to the elevation of the minds of men. The intolerant spirit by which it was pervaded made Scotland a very hot-bed of fanaticism and superstition, in which narrowness of thought and fierceness about opinions found a congenial soil. As the seventeenth century advances, the picture darkens, and intolerant as Knox and his followers were, when again we have to take up the story of the Church in Paisley, though we shall again find it no worse than it was elsewhere, we shall meet with, in their successors, men quite as intolerant as they were, if not more so.

[1] Reg. P. C., i. pp. cxli and 535 (N. S).

[2] Row, Hist. K. of Scot.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PEST, LEPROSY, AND FAMINE.

1. The Pest.

The first mention of the Plague or Pest, as it was generally called, which occurs in the Records of the Town Council, is under the date January 8, 1602. This was not the first visit of this dreadful scourge to the town of Paisley. From the Records of the Town Council of the City of Glasgow, we learn that, in October, 1588, the plague was not only in Paisley itself, but also in the surrounding country, and that the Magistrates of Glasgow, forseeing "the grit apperand danger of pest lik to ensew throw the infectioun of Paislay and utheris placis thairabout," took measures to have the gates of their city strictly watched, so as to prevent all persons suspected of carrying the infection from gaining admission. Nor can it be assumed that the visitation of 1588 was the first in Paisley.

During the middle ages, the plague was, in most places in Scotland, a constant visitor. The first recorded instance of its presence was in 664, and from that date the country was seldom long free from this terrible scourge. Visitations, all of them attended with fearful mortality, are recorded in the years 683, 897, and 962. In 1349 came the Black Death. It was here again in 1361, and again in 1380 and 1401.[1] In 1439, we hear of the Land-ill or the Wame-ill, which, according to the Chronicler, was so virulent that "there died more that year than ever there died under the pestilence or yet in any other sickness in Scotland." "And that same

[1] Wynton, Orygynal Cron., ii. 482; iii. 14, 80, 81 (Scot. Hist. Series).

year," he goes on to add, "the pestilence came into Scotland and began at Dumfries, and it was called the 'Pestilence but [without] Mercy'; for there took it none that ever recovered, but they died in twenty-four hours."[1] By 1456 the plague had become the subject of legislation. The Act that was then passed bears no evidence that the plague was something new, but speaks of it as of a thing of ordinary occurrence. It ordained that those who were stricken with the plague should remain in their own houses, providing they were able to maintain themselves and their household; and if they were not, provision was to be made for them. Those who refused to remain in their houses were to be put outside the town, and, lest they should wander about the country and "fyle" it, they were to be compelled to reside in fixed places. The prelates were directed to make processions twice a week in order to "staunch" the trouble.[2] It is probable that at the date of the passing of this Act the plague was either in Paisley or not far from it;[3] for about this time the monks in the monastery were so alarmed that they got set down in their copy of the Scotichronicon, or what is known as the Black Book of Paisley, a translation of the smaller of the two treatises written by John de Burgundia, otherwise known as Sir John de Mandeville, intituled "Ageyn the Pestilence." The Act of 1456 was renewed again and again, and the published Extracts from the Town Council Records of various Burghs and the numerous volumes of the Register of the Privy Council show that, from the date of the Act down to the end of the seventeenth century, the plague was continually hovering about the country and frequently carrying off immense numbers of the population.

When, in the beginning of the year 1602, the Magistrates and Town Council heard that the plague was in the country, at their meeting on January 28 they passed the following resolutions:—

[1] Auchinleck Cron., 4. [2] Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 46.

[3] Murray, Black Book of Paisley, 46.

"In the first, that the haill burgesses and inhabitants of this Burgh convein mair frequentlie to the Kirk for heiring of the Word of God preiching and prayars nor thay haif bein accustomit to do heirtofoir, and sic as beis absent upon the Sabbath day fra the sermont befoir none and eftir none to be pundit for ane unlaw of xxs. conforme to the Acts of Parliament and the samin to be imployit *ad pios usus,* and that sum guid ordour be set doun anent the cuming to the prayers morning and evening upon the oulk dayis.

"Item, that all persouns haifand waist lands adjacent to the ports of this Burghe big up the foir walls thairof sufficientlie and braid the samin with thornis, that nane clyme ovir, within the space of four dayis nixt eftir thay be chargit be the officers undir the payne of fyve punds.

"Item, that the Barne Yaird port be bigit up and sa remane during the haill tyme of the continuatioun of the pest in the cuntrie.

"Item, that nane of the inhabitants of this Burghe suffir or ressave ony persouns to cum in throw thair yairds or bak syds undir the pane of fyve punds.

"Item, that the Eist and West Ports be diligentlie keepit fra fyve hours in the morning unto aucht hours at evin, and that the keipars thairof be sufficient persouns haifing ane sword and Jedburgh staff, and that thay be not absent fra the said Port the space of thre scoir futts, the Ports oppin, nor yet fand in housses undir the pane of ane unlaw of xiijs. iiijd. *toties quoties.*

"Item, that the Burne Port and Mossraw be simpliciter cloisit, except the Burne Port allanerlie to be keipit be Robert Algeo and Robert Hendirsoun and onelie to be openit betwix viij hours and ix hours befoir non and foir hours and fyve hours eftir none.

"Item, that the keipars of the said Ports ressave na testimonialls of ony persouns cuming frome suspectit places, but that thay signifie the samin to ane of the Bailies or some utheris of the persouns eftir nominat quha salbe appointit and that the personnis haifars of the said testimonyalls be nawayis receavit within the said Burghe, bot onelie to pas thairthrow be said discreit persouns.

"Item, that na persouns quha ar not sufficientlie knawin be the Baillies and visitars of the said ports not haifand testimony-

allis be ressavit within the said Burghe to remane nathir short nor lang space undir the pane of fyve punds.

"Item, that na persouns inhabitants of the said Burghe receave ony travellers, creilmen or utheris nor gif thame ludging without licence of ane of the Bailies had thairto undir the pane of fyve punds.

"Item, that na persouns dwelland within the space of ane myle, quhair the infectioun of the pest be receavit within the hous for the space of fyve oulks that it may be knawin quhidder thay be clein or foull thairof.

"Item, becaus thair ar sundrie persouns that for feir of the pest and eschewing thairof transports thameselffs with thair famelies furtht of the citie of Glasgow to landwort in sundrie pairts near to this Burghe, that nane of the saids persouns be receavit within the samin for the space of sex oulks nixt eftir thair transporting; and siclyk that gif thay be not keipit be thameselffs the said space, that nane of thair receavars nor repairars in companie with thame be admittit within this Burghe during the same space.

"Item, that James Richie drumar pas throw the toun ilk day at four hours in the morning as he wes accustomat and at aucht hours at evin, except the Sabboth day, and albeit the woddir be foull that he stryk the drum ane certane space upon the Brig and at the Cors.

"Item, that some ordour be tane concerneing the puir and that nane puir remane within the Toun, bot thay quha ar borne thairin or that hes had thair residence and remaining thairin the space of yeirs, and that na puir in the landwart be receavit in the Toun.

"Item, that na indwellars within this Burghe pas furtht thairof, except to thair labour about the Toun, without libertie of ane of the Baillies had and obtainit thairto undir the pain of fyve punds.

"Item, that na testymonyall be gevin be the Clerk without command of ane of the Baillies to na persoun nor persouns undir the pane of xls.

"Item, outwith the West Port to the Tounend Johne Algeo and Patrik Ralstoun.

"Item, fra Johne Sclaters Cors houss in Calsaysyd to the Port about the Orchyaird Thomas Quheytfurd and Robert Hendirsoun and John Sundirland.

"Item, for the Seidhill William Stewart and Johne Park.

"Item, within the Burghe for the West Port Andro Stewart and Johne Hendirsoun.

"Item, for the Mosraw and Barneyaird Johne Vaus and Gawin Stewart.

"Item, for the Brig Port Johne Huchsoun and Robert Urie with the Burnegait.

"Item, for Waltirraw Robert Semple, Clerk.

"Item, it is appointit be the Baillies that quhatsumevir persouns within the said Burghe or sworne of the samin refussis to keip the said Ports the days about as effer to be pundit for sex sehillingis viijd."

These resolutions, it will be observed, contemplate merely the exclusion of individuals suspected of bringing the infection. Of remedial measures nothing is said. Nor is it said whether on this occasion the pest really came. The probability is that it did not.

Towards the close of the following year the plague again made its appearance in different parts of the country, and on October 14 the following resolution was passed in order to prevent the infection being brought into the town:—

"Certane Actis and Statutis for preservatione and keiping of the the said Burghe, gif it be the plesour of God, fra the Pest.

"The quhilk day the Baillies and Counsell of the said Burghe understanding the contageus seikness of the Pest is within the realme and hes infectit sindrie partis of the samin, Swa that it is necessary the Portis of the said Burghe be keipit, and that na personnis be admittit nar receavit within this Burghe repairing fra ony pairtis of this realme quhair the contageus seikness of the Pest is presentlie, without sufficient testimoniall of thair helths; As lykewayis that na vagabondis, strang and idle beggers be onie wayis sufferit to entir within this Burgh, and gif onie of the foresaids personnes forbidden beis fundin within this Burghe, the keipars of the Port for the time quhare the person or personis forbidden enteris, efter tryall tane thairof be the Baillies and utheris of that quarter, sall pay an unlaw of ten pundis money *toties quoties*. And for the better observing of this order Johne

Vaus, Baille, John Algie, John Henrysonne, William Wing, and William Huchesoune sall oversee and visit dailie the West and Mossraw Portis and keipeiris thairof; Andro Crawfurd, the other Baillie, Thomas Inglis, Clerk, Johne Huchesoune, Robert Urie, and John Alexander, cordinar, sall dailie vissit and oversee the Brig and Burnegait Port, and gif neid beis ma personnis to be chosin and joynit with the foirnameit personnis to the effect foresaid.

"Item that all the Ports of this Burghe be lockit at nyne houris at even nichtlie and opened dailie at fyve houris in the morning quhill ferder order be taken."

The port to which special attention required to be given was the Brig Port. From this it may probably be inferred that the plague was then raging in Glasgow; but not certainly, for the Town Council Records of Glasgow for the year 1603 are lost.[1] The keeping of the ports referred to was to begin on the following morning, October 15, 1604. Every keeper was to be armed with a sword and a staff, and anyone failing to be at his post after being warned by the officer, was to be fined eight shillings and to pay the cost of a substitute for the day.[2] The measures taken seem to have been effectual. At any rate there is no indication that the infection spread into the town. But in the following year the pest was prevalent in Edinburgh,[3] Glasgow, and Rutherglen; and in the months of August and September the following resolutions were passed:—

"The quhilk day the Baillies and Counsell of this Burgh, understanding the contagieous seiknes of the plague of pest hes infectit divers pairtis of this realme alsweill in burghe as landwart and laitlie the tounes of Glasgow and Rutherglen, swa that it is necessar and expedient for preserving of this Burghe and inhabitants hereof fra the said plague of pest (gif it be the plesour of God), that not onlie all the Ports of this Burghe be weill keipit and that thair be yets hung upon the Mosraw Port and Barne

[1] Glasgow, Extracts from Town Council Records, 227 *n.*

[2] Charters and Docs., p. 254. [3] Lanark, Records and Charters, 116.

Yaird Ports, and the said Barne Yaird Port to remane loikit during the will of the saids Baillies and Counsell; but als it is statute and ordaint that nane of the inhabitants of this Burghe pas furthe thairof to onie other burghe or pairt suspect furder nor the bounds and libertie of the said burgh and land perteining thairto without special license of the said Baillies had and obteinit under the pane of banisching them the said Burgh for ever; and sicklyke that nane of the inhabitants of this Burgh suffer onie persone or persones repairing or cuming fra onie other pairt or pairtis thairto to enter throw thair yairds and houses within this Burghe under the pane of fyve punds money *toties quoties;* and lykewayis that all the inhabitants within this Burgh having dogs keip them bund within thair awin houssis fra the xiij day of this instant induring the will of the saids Baillies and Counsell, and that under the said pane of fyve punds money foirsaid; and gif onie dogis beis fundin upon the said gait efter the said day quhill libertie be grantit be the saids Baillies and Counsale, the said dog to be fellit and the awner to find na falt thairwith."

"The quhilk day the Baillies and Counsell having consultation of the continewance and daylie incresing and spreiding of the plague of pest and that the samin drawis neir to this Burghe, and thairfoir for preservation thairof (gif it be the plesour of God) and seeing it is lesum to use all second means, it is statut and ordaint be the Baillies and Counsell that the haill burgessis and inhabitants of this Burghe sall keip the portis as they salbe warnit be the officers the day preceding conform to the roll to be given to thame thairupon, and the said persones being warnit be onie of the officers sall oppin the saids Portis at fyve houris in the morning and lok the samin at nyne houris at even and sall remane at the saidis Portis betwix the saids houris under the pane of twentie schillingis *toties quoties* they sall happin to contravene the samin.

"Item, it is ordaint that nane of the Keipers of the said Portis let in onie thairat unknawin to them outwith this Burghe without they adverteis ane of the Baillies, at the leist ane of the Quarter Maisteris eftirnamit, appointit for visiting of the saidis Portis, causing keip the samin in manner underwritten, viz., at the Eist Port on the Brig Thomas Inglis, Robert Algie, Thomas Quhytfurd, Robert Urie, Thomas Petir, Johne Hucheson, and Robert

Semple, quha also sall attend upon the keiping of the Burne Port, and for awaiting and keiping of the West Port John Algie, Andrew Stewart, William Cuming, Johne Hendersone, Robert Craig, David Hendersone, and John Quhyt merchand."

Reference is again made to the prevalence of the pest in the country in a minute of the Town Council under date October 11 in the same year, but still only as "increasing and drawing near." Neither in this year nor in 1605-6, when it was raging in Leith, Linlithgow, Peebles, Stirling. and in Ayr, Kyle, and Cunningham, was the town visited by this scourge. But in 1645 it was different. The malady then broke out within the town towards the end of the year, and continued to rage with great virulence till the middle of 1646. The sufferings of the inhabitants were great, not only from the plague, but also from famine, and with exemplary diligence the Town Council and Magistrates set themselves both to provide for those who were starving and to stamp out the plague. Contributions in meal and money were obtained from the neighbouring parishes, and the Town Council of Glasgow, commiserating the people in their evil plight, sent for their relief twenty bolls of meal. A committee of the Town Council superintended the cleansing of infected houses, and a number of the plague-stricken were placed outside the town upon the "moor," probably a part of the mosslands, where, as at the muir of Edinburgh, a number of temporary houses were built. Some of these unfortunate individuals appear to have returned to the town too soon, and were in consequence fined and sent back.

In the following year the plague broke out in Glasgow, and on June 15, 1646, the Town Council, doubtless in return for the kindness they themselves had experienced at the hands of the Town Council of the city, agreed that "forty men are to go to Glasgow with spades and mattocks and shovels to-morrow morning and work for at the Ports, and that each man get two merks from those that do not go." As will be readily inferred, the ravages of the pest had by this time ceased in Paisley. In Glasgow it was otherwise. Breaking

out there later than it did in Paisley, it continued till a later period. So virulent was it that on October 7, 1647, the Provost of Glasgow applied to the Bailies and Town Council of Paisley to have the University lodged for a time in the burgh. Soon after, however, the plague began to abate in the city, and the proposal of the Provost and the offer of accommodation on the part of the Town Council of Paisley came to naught.

The visitation of 1645 was the last appearance of the plague within the burgh of which there is any record. It continued to hover about the country for many years, but Paisley was apparently exempt from any further visitations of this dreadful scourge.

2. Leprosy.

The first notice of the presence of leprosy in the burgh occurs in the Records of the Town Council under date October 15, 1601, where we have the following:—

"The quhilk day the Baillies and Counsall of the said Burghe undirstanding that utheris sundrie leprous folks quha repairis within this Burghe and ussis thameselffs in company at butt and uthirwayis with the inhabitants thairof without respect of thair diseis or danger thairof, howbeit the samin be maist dangerous quhair company is alwayis to be forborne for eschewing thairof baithe in the lawis set doun thairanent in Holie Scriptour as also in the lawis of this realme, thairfoir it is statut and ordaint be the saidis Baillies and Counsall that na leprous persounis be sufferit to repair commounlie in manir foirsaid within the said Burghe nor be sufferit to us ony commoun merchandice within the samin or hauld oppin buthis of merchandice within the samin quhilk movis folks to and repair to thame and beir company with thame, and to that effect ordains the said leprous folks quhatsumever that ar notour to be leprous, to be warnit to desist fra all company beiring, repairing and drinking in the housses of the said Burghe and in oppin buthis, hauking, and merchandice making, and in all uthir societie with the inhabitants of the said Burghe, except sa mony of the said leprous folk as of necessitie behuiffis to craiff support to haif access twyce

in the oulk, viz. Friday and Wednesday betwix xi hours and ane eftir non allanarlie, and that thay haif cloppiris, and stand without the duirs, and that thay may hauld na hous undir the pane of banishment of the said leprous persouns of the Burghe, and lykwayis dischargis the said inhabitants to receave thame within their housses to eit, drink or beir company with them under the pain of xxxs *toties quoties;* and ferder dischargis the saidis inhabitants and utheris quhatsumevir, haifing housses within the said Burghe, to set ony of thair housses for lang or short taks to ony of the said leprous persouns undir the pain of fyve punds money."

In all likelihood leprosy had been long known in the town. If it had not, Paisley was extremely exceptional. Leprosy was an old-standing disease, and reference to its presence in the country may be traced as far back as the records go. Lepers are mentioned in the Lives of SS. Ninian, Columba, Machar, Kentigern, and Magnus. Provision is made for their treatment in the ancient laws and customs of the Scottish burghs. In the first half of the twelfth century leprosy had become "the disease of the age, a never ceasing plague." By the laws just referred to, it was ordained that if anyone dwelling or born in a King's burgh became a leper, "that is callit mysal," he was to be at once placed "in the spytaile [lazarhouse] of the burgh"; and if he had nothing of his own, a collection of twenty shillings was to be made, in order that he might be clothed and fed. In course of time these "spytailis" became numerous. In Ireland they are said to have existed as early as the ninth century. The first in Scotland was founded at Harehope, in Peeblesshire, by David I., by whom it was given to the Knights of S. Lazarus, who subsequently held another at Linlithgow. Two others were built during the twelfth century in Scotland: Aldnestun, under the jurisdiction of the abbey of Melrose; and at Old Cambus, in Berwickshire. Subsequently there were leper houses at Glasgow, Govan, Edinburgh, Legerwood, in Lauderdale, Haddington, Aberdeen, Lerwick, and Papastow, in the Shetlands, on the island of St. Kilda, and at Perth and Stirling. Near Edinburgh was Liberton, the name

of which is usually understood to mean Lepertown, where was the balm oil well of S. Catherine, famous for curing all manner of skin diseases. But the most interesting of all the Scottish leper houses was at Prestwick, in Ayrshire, built and endowed by Robert Bruce, who is said to have been afflicted with the disease. It was called Kincase, and a beautiful legend is told about it. Wandering about near the spot one day, the King became utterly wearied. He stuck his spear into the sand, flung himself on the ground, and at once fell into a profound sleep. On awaking he rose and plucked up his spear, when, to his amazement, a beautiful spring of water, clear as crystal, at once leaped out of the opening the spear had made. He stooped down and drank of the water, when his leprosy immediately passed away.

During the middle ages, the leprous were the subjects of frequent legislation. One provision made for their maintenance is curious. When ale was, for any reason confiscated, the poor of the burgh had a right to one-third of it, and as it might be confiscated for being too strong or too weak, or because some of it had been sold at a higher or at a lower price than the official one, the gift would, doubtless, at times be a godsend to them. Lepers were less fortunate. The law referred to enjoined that "if rotten pork or salmon be brocht to the mercat be ony, they sal be seisit be the balyies and sent incontinent to the lipperfolk without ony manere of question . . . and if there be no lipperfolk there, thai sal be utterly destroyit." The disease was, in most cases, induced by the want of proper nourishment, and one would almost imagine that those who drew up this extraordinary enactment simply wished to aggravate the disease. But such was the wisdom of the times. On the whole, however, the legislation in respect to lepers during the Middle Ages is fairly reflected in the Act passed by the Paisley Town Council in 1601.

In Paisley the disease seems to have been comparatively infrequent. At any rate, references to it in the Town Council Records are not numerous. In 1624, a certain John Knox became leprous, and on October 24 in that year, a pro-

clamation was sent round the town against him, and in the following year, the Bailies directed the Act of 1601 to be enforced against anyone who received him. On January 31, 1650, Robert Urie, flesher, was discharged from slaying or selling flesh until he removed his wife, who was a leper, out of the town. For some reason or other she returned, and on April 14, 1651, she was pronounced "very leprous," and her husband was enjoined "to remove her out of the town or to put her in some secret place where no harme sall be put to her nor that he sall haunt her company himself." The cases, it would appear, were never so numerous as to warrant the Town Council to go the length of building a Lazar House, a circumstance which speaks well for the salubrity and prosperity of the place.

3. Famine.

Periods of dearth or famine were at this time frequent in the country. The plague and famine were close companions, and where the one was, the other was not far off. As a rule, the one followed the other, with but a small interval between them. Sometimes famine brought the plague, and sometimes the plague came before the famine, but more usually the former was the case. At times the two scourges came together. When the plague was here in 1645, the greatest destitution, as we have seen, prevailed in the town, and twenty bolls of meal was an acceptable gift to the terror-stricken and famishing inhabitants.

From the Records of the Town Council, very little can be gathered as to the frequency of the famine in Paisley. At present a famine in any part of Western Europe is well nigh an impossibility, owing to the immense facilities of transport, and the ease with which one country can be fed from another, however distant. But about the beginning of the seventeenth century and much later, when there were few roads, and each country and almost every locality had to depend upon its own produce for provisions, dearths were frequent in most places. Paisley may have been exceptionally

placed. The farmers in the neighbourhood had, for generations, learned in the best school of agriculture then known, and it may be that the scourge of famine was seldom felt in the town. But it is scarcely likely. The frequent enactments of Parliament, forbidding anyone to hoard up stores of grain, and compelling everyone to thresh out all they had from the harvest of the preceding year by the month of May, together with the statutes directing all strangers bringing victuals into the country to be favourably received and "thankfully paid," show that want and famine were never far off, and were foes that had to be continually reckoned with.

From the Chronicle of Perth we learn that "the wheat in 1598 was blasted," all over Scotland, and that oatmeal was so scarce that it sold for six shillings the peck; "ane great deid amang the people" being occasioned by the dearth. There had been "ane great dearth of all kinds of victuals through all Scotland," in 1574, and again in 1577, and still later in 1587, 1589, and 1595. Referring to the famine of the last of these dates, Birrel writes, "the like was never heard tell of in any age before, nor ever read of since the world was made." In 1598, Paisley seems to have escaped the plague, but not the famine.

When the plague visited Paisley in 1645, it was again accompanied by famine, and to such a pitch of destitution were the poor of the town reduced, that application was made to Parliament for aid, but apparently without effect. Six years later, famine again prevailed in the town. Beir was then selling at £20 Scots per boll in many parts of the country. The best sack wine was 4 shillings sterling, and French wine 1s. 6d. the pint. The best ale was 4d. the pint. In Paisley the brewers "brocht" the drinking beer and ale to "ane verie heich price," and were directed by the Magistrates, on September 15, to reduce the price to 2¼d. sterling for drinking beer, and 2d. for ale per pint. Periods of dearth occurred from time to time during the next two centuries, and it was not till greater facilities were created for the better distribution of food stuffs that famine ceased to afflict the country.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ABERCORNS AND THE KIRK.

When Mr. Andro Knox left the living of Lochwinnoch to take the spiritual oversight of Paisley, he was succeeded by Mr. Patrick Hamilton; and when he reluctantly, but probably to the great joy of many of his parishioners, laid down his charge in Paisley, Mr. Patrick Hamilton again succeeded him.

Of Hamilton very little is known; for here, unfortunately, and for nearly twenty years after Mr. Knox's departure to his bishopric, we have no longer the Records of the Presbytery to guide us. However, Hamilton was one of the Synod's commissioners directed to "travell" with the Countess of Glencairn, and in the first extant volume of the Presbytery's Records, we frequently meet with him denouncing certain of his parishioners for non-conformity and indulgence in superstitious practices, such as "ringing of girdles on the day of January, disguising themselves and using superstitious playis a little before Yuile, in the day callit Yuile evening." This was when he was in Lochwinnoch. How he ruled in Paisley there is nothing to tell. His methods in Lochwinnoch suggest that the people in his new charge would not find his rule much easier than that of Mr. Andro Knox. Baillie has an amusing incident to tell of him while attending the General Assembly in July, 1648. "We are fashed," writes Baillie, "with the opening of the mouths of deposed ministers. Poor Mr. Patrick Hamilton, in the very nick of time, when the Assembly was to grant all his desire, was rejected by his own unhappiness. He had let fall out of his pocket a poem too invective against the Church's proceedings. This, by mere accident, had come into the hands of Mr. Mungo

Law, who gave it to Mr. James Guthrie, and he did read it in the face of the Assembly to Mr. Patrick's confusion."[1] This was many years after Mr. Patrick had ceased to be minister of Paisley. He held that post not more than three years.

Mr. Patrick Hamilton was succeeded, in 1610, by Dr. Archibald Hamilton, who seems to have been a man of some means. At any rate, on January 4, 1617, he lent the Town Council, according to their Records, the sum of 1000 merks, which were ordered to be put into the common chest. In 1612, he built the house which formerly stood at the head of South Croft Street, and was long the manse for the ministers of the First Charge in the Abbey Parish. Over the entrance to it he placed a stone, which bore not only his own initials, but those also of his wife. During his incumbency a number of acts were passed by the Town Council respecting the observance of Sunday and attendance at church, and the probability is that they were passed at his suggestion. When the High Commission Court of 1610 was revived in 1620, for the purpose of coercing the ministers who still opposed the government policy, Hamilton was placed upon it.[2] On June 29, 1623, he was consecrated in S. Peter's, Dublin, bishop of Killaloe, in Ireland. The bishopric of Achonry was given to him *in commendam* by Charles I., April 20, 1630, and on the same day he was made archbishop of Cashel and Emly. He died at Stockholm in 1659, at the age of eighty.

So far as is known, Dr. Archibald Hamilton was succeeded by Mr. Alexander Hamilton. The only fact recorded about him is that he resigned his charge towards the close of 1625.

The last of the succession of Hamiltons who were ministers in the abbey, was succeeded by Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrigg, in the county of Ayr. Boyd was one of the most learned men of his time, and had had a somewhat checkered career. His father fought in the army of Queen Mary at Langside, but, having entered the ministry, he was

[1] Letters, iii. 60.

[2] Row, Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland, 269.

settled at Kirkoswald, in Ayrshire, and died in 1581, archbishop of Glasgow. Robert Boyd, his eldest son, before his appointment to Paisley, had been successively Professor of Philosophy in the University of Montauban, minister of the church of Vertuil, and Pastor and Professor of Theology in the University of Saumur, in France. James VI. appointed him Principal of the University of Glasgow, and afterwards of the University of Edinburgh. This last appointment James VI. compelled him to resign in consequence of his strong opposition to the Articles of Perth. At the time of Mr. Alexander Hamilton's resignation, the Earl of Abercorn was absent from Paisley, and for some time Mr. Boyd, though strongly urged thereto by Lord Ross of Hawkhead and others, hesitated to allow himself to be appointed minister of the town. He was related to the Abercorns, and some years previously had been a frequent visitor at the Place of Paisley, but was far from sure as to how his acceptance of the appointment would be taken by the Earl and his mother, Marion Boyd, the Dowager Countess. There were difficulties, too, as to his enjoyment of the temporalities of the cure. Charles I. had recently issued the first draft of his Revocation Edict, and everything in connection with the ecclesiastical revenues of the country was uncertain. After a time, however, Boyd overcame his hesitancy, and was inducted by the Presbytery in the Abbey Church, January 1, 1626. But no sooner was he inducted than, afraid of the consequences, he fled, leaving behind him a letter for the Earl, in which he begged that "as the house which he should have, cannot be soon repaired, he might be allowed the use of some chamber in the abbey. He had requested the same of the Earl's mother," he said, "but had been referred to him." A month later, a certain David Alexander wrote to him that a person had been engaged to collect his stipend, that his parishioners were longing after him, because "they sometimes want a sermon," and that "because of Mr. Park's sickness, no prayers had been read for fourteen days." The Earl, Alexander goes on to say, "is expected to be in Scotland before Easter," but "as to the making patent your house,"

he adds, "there is no word of it, since it cannot be known in whose hands the keys are."

The return of the Earl did not take place so soon as was expected, and Boyd, after an absence of three months, mustered up courage and returned to his charge. By the people he was well received, but the welcome he received from the Countess was cold. "I do not design," he wrote, soon after his return, "to continue long here. I am just now come from Blackstoun, where I found Lady Abercorn. She is so coldly disposed toward me that I expect no friendship or courtesy on her part. She denies me that she has received any letter or news from her son relating to me; and when she gets anything from him, I believe she will rather suppress it than put it in my hand. It is believed here that the Earl is to receive a (*coup de pied*) disaster as to the abbey. Pray to the Lord not only to vouchsafe me courage and strength for accomplishing this charge and sustain me under the burden of it, but also patience to bear up when at a distance from my family."

Boyd does not appear to have had overmuch courage, and soon had need of more than he had. The treatment he received was, to say the least, violent. A description of it occurs in the Register of the Privy Council,[1] but here is Wodrow's: "He was ordained to have his manse in the fore-house of the abbey, as the most convenient place for that use; and having put his books and a bed thereintill, he being preaching in the afternoon, the Master of Paisley, being the Earl of Abercorn's brother, with some others, came to the minister's house, none being therein, and cast all his books to the ground, and thereafter locked the doors, whereby the minister should have no entry thereafter thereunto. And afterwards the Master being complained of to the Lords of the Secret Council, and the Master of Paisley compearing, and the Bailies of Paisley with him, the Lords would have warded the said Master for some short space. The Master confessed with sorrow that he had done this wrong, and

[1] Reg. P. C., i. 309, 421, 422 (N.S.).

therefore the said Robert declared to the Council that he desired not the Master to be warded, but, in hope that things would be done better thereafter, he passed from the complaint. This the Master promised to do, and the Council ordained him to be repossessed, and so the matter passed over. Thereafter the Bailies of Paisley, according to the Lords' ordinance, intending in outward appearance to put Mr. Robert again in possession of the house, they found the locks stopped with stones and other things, that they could have no entry, and they would not break up the doors; and Mr. Boyd being going away, the rascally women[1] of the town coming to see the matter (for the men purposely absented themselves) not only upbraided Mr. Robert with opprobrious speeches and shouted and hoyed him, but likewise cast dirt and stones at him, so that he was forced to leave the town, and went to Glasgow, not far off, and from thence went to Carrick, his own dwelling place; and miskent all, and would not complain, so that the Bishop of Glasgow, for his own credit, complained that justice should be done to the minister, and caused summon the said Master of Paisley and his mother, the Ladye thereof, who was thought to have the wyte [blame] of all, to compear before the Council to hear and see order taken for the contempt done to the minister. Likeas the Lady and the Earl, her eldest son, and the Master, her second son, in great pomp, with her eldest son's gilded carosche (he being lately come from his travels), accompanied with many gentlemen and friends came to Edinburgh to the Council day; and then the matter being handled in Council and reasoned, where the Bishop of

[1] At the meeting of the Presbytery on April 27, 1628, it was resolved to summon several of these women to appear before the Assembly at its next meeting in Glasgow, on the last day of April. Their names were Isabella Greenlees, spous to James Smith in the Smithhills of Paisley; Jean Kibble, spous to Malcolm Park there; Isobel, wife of John Foreman, smith, there; and Janet Greenlees, sister of the said Isobel. They were accused of "boasting and threatning to stone the minister, the King's messenger, and others who accompanied him, for giving him possession of the manse according to the law of the kingdom." For some reason they were all dismissed by the Presbytery, and not sent to the Assembly.

Glasgow was and five or six other bishops were, all that was resolved upon by the Council was that it was promised by the Earl and his brother, and their friends that the minister, Mr. Robert Boyd, should be repossessed, and no more impediments made to him, and no order taken with delinquents and contempt done to the rascally women, and this was one of the fruits of papistry in the West."

Mr. Boyd declined to be "repossessed." Many urged him to continue his ministry, but he refused to return and demitted his office. His successor was Mr. John Hay.

When Mr. John Hay entered upon his ministry in Paisley, scarcely twenty years had elapsed since Mr. Andro Knox had departed to his bishopric of the Isles. Even that energetic champion of Protestantism had found that the task of stamping out the old faith in Paisley was more than he could manage. Since his time, things had changed, but not as he would have thought for the better, at least in respect to religion. The attempt of James VI. to thrust Episcopacy on Scotland had given the Presbyteries something else to think about. Many of the energies they had formerly employed in the prosecution of Catholics and non-attenders at church they were now exhausting in controversies and in quarrels among themselves. The points they disputed and about which they quarrelled were not in any way essentials of the Christian faith, but whether the order of bishops was lawful or unlawful, and whether the sacrament should be received kneeling at an altar-rail or sitting at a table. While discussing these topics, their work of dealing with suspects fell into the background and received less attention. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that it was wholly neglected. In the Paisley Presbytery it seems to have been attended to with considerable care. Though the Presbytery Records for the period we are immediately concerned with are lost, the Register of the Privy Council fortunately comes to our aid. One incident mentioned there[1] shows that the Presbytery were by no means

[1] Reg. P. C., i. 426 (N.S.).

allowing the Catholics a free hand within their bounds. A commission was issued to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Kilmaurs, Lord Ross, the Sheriff of Renfrew, the Bailie of the Regality of Paisley, the Provost and Bailies of Glasgow, and the Bailies of Paisley, "to convoke the lieges in arms, search for, apprehend, and cause to be warded in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, Robert Algeo in Saushill, Allan Hamilton of Ferguslie, and Grizzell Hamilton, his daughter," who, on October 9, 1619, were denounced rebels by virtue of letters "proceiding upon the fearfull sentance of excommunication gevin and pronuncit aganis thame for there not geving obedience and satisfactioun to the Kirk and Presbyterie quhair they dwell for there apostacie from the true religioun, dissobedience and contumacie." The case of the Presbytery against Hugh Stewart, and a case of deforcement by the Archbishop of Glasgow against John Forman and others in Paisley are also mentioned about the same time.[1] But these cases notwithstanding, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century there was a lull in the prosecution of the Catholics. The Catholics, on the other hand, and many who had had quite enough of the Protestantism of the time and were sighing for an easier yoke than that of the Kirk, finding, as they imagined, the grip of the Presbyteries relaxed, began to assert themselves, and to avow openly their preference for the ancient faith. Writing of the summer season in the year 1626, Wodrow somewhat plaintively says: "Many persons, both men and women, south, west, east, and north, kythed themselves, by proud speeches, yea, and sometimes by deeds, declared themselves Papists." The reaction and recrudescence had been going on for some time, but it was in that year that the movement came to a head. Both the King and the Kirk took the alarm, and it was soon seen that the zeal and skill of the Presbyteries to find out and punish Catholics were only dormant, not impaired.

The earliest date in the second of the extant volumes of the Presbytery's Records is April 20, 1626, and the moment

[1] Reg. P. C., i. 434 (N. S.).

we open the volume we find ourselves in the midst of stirring times. Old Lady Claud Hamilton had been so worrited by her minister, Mr. Andro Knox, that she had appealed to the King for protection.[1] Her daughter-in-law, Marion Boyd, the Dowager Countess of Abercorn, was soon to suffer still more severely at the hands of Mr. John Hay and his fellow-presbyters. She was a lady of some force and determination of character. On one occasion, during the absence of her son, she had presided at the Head Court in Paisley, and appointed one of the Bailies. Her husband had been a staunch Protestant, an elder in the Kirk, and a member of the General Assembly. During his lifetime she had evidently conformed; but after his death she had as evidently relapsed. What time the process was set up against her in the Presbytery is not known, owing to the absence of the Record. On April 20, 1626, when the extant Record for the period begins, the process is going on both against her and against two of her "servitors." Later on, other of her servants were proceeded against. The charge against the two servitors, whose names were Thomas Algeo and John Naismith, was that "they did neither frequent the house of God for hearing the word of God preached, neither did they communicate with others of the congregation at occasions offered, whereby they gave just occasion of suspicion of their apostacy and defection from the true religion grounded upon God's sacred Word, presently professed within this kingdom and authorized by His Majesty's Laws." The charge against the Countess was in similar terms. On May 4, Claud Algeo, another servitor, was added to the number of suspects, and directed to appear in the Kirk of Paisley and give an account of himself. On July 5, in the following year, Issobel Mowatt, "servitor to the Countess of Abercorn," was denounced to the Presbytery as not only "ane enemie to the true religioune," but as one also who "openlie and publictly avoweth her idolatrie and papistrie, witnessing thereby that she adhereth to Antichristian doctrine." She resided at Blackstoun with

[1] Letters to James VI., Sept. 1, 1610 (Bannatyne Club).

the Countess, and Mr. Andrew Hamilton, the minister at Kilbarchan was directed to order her to appear before the brethren in the Kirk of Paisley, and "to answer to them anent the premisses." In the following month two other of the Countess's servitors—Pendreiche and Leslie—were denounced.

Naismith and the Algeos were evidently Catholics—some of them may have been priests or Jesuits. At any rate, they showed great skill in evading the Presbytery, and for a time seemed to have played with the brethren. Their object appears to have been to weary them, or, at all events, and by any means they could think of, to stave off as long as possible the sentence of excommunication. After interposing as many delays as they could, they pled ignorance, and were supplied with copies of the Confession of Faith. When the time came for them to give in their decision, they either sent letters of excuse, or were absent, or they appeared and pled for more time to enable them to resolve their doubts and difficulties. Sometimes the Countess conveniently sent them abroad or away on business. At other times they would plead with those who were ordered to proceed against them, not to do so, assuring them that by the next meeting of the Presbytery they would be ready to obey, but when the Presbytery met, they had some fresh excuse or were absent. In this way the processes against them were made to drag on till the beginning of the year 1628. On January 31 in that year, Messrs. Hay and Hamilton were directed to excommunicate Pendreich, Leslie, and Issobel Mowatt; but for some reason they did not, and when the Presbytery met, on February 21, to hear their report, they were absent. Hamilton, who appears to have been responsible for the failure, was, on March 27, directed to be reported to the bishop, who ordered him to be summoned before the Synod, which was about to assemble in Glasgow, "to answer for his negligence." His excuse is not given, but on April 28, when the Presbytery next met, Hamilton himself reported that the "bishop was pleased to continue to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Mr. Robert Pendreich

and Francis Leslie, they being now absent out of the kingdom with the Earl of Abercorn."

After being ordered by the Presbytery, on June 1, 1626, to be summoned for the third time, Marion Boyd, the Countess Dowager of Abercorn, fled to James Law, the archbishop of Glasgow, for refuge, and on August 31 following, Mr. Hamilton, the minister of Kilbarchan, produced a letter to the Presbytery from the archbishop, directing the Presbytery "not to make any public mention by public admonition of the said Countess of Abercorn's name until they heard from him . . . whereunto the brethren acquiesced, until they heard from the bishop or that he communed with them face to face." For several months nothing is heard of her case, and under the protection of the archbishop she might possibly have escaped all further trouble; but in April, 1627, her son the Earl had returned, and had openly declared himself a Catholic, and shown his contempt for the Protestants. At the meeting of the Presbytery on the 17th of the month, his Lordship therefore was ordered to be summoned to appear before them. When called at their next meeting, May 3, he was absent, and was ordered to be summoned *pro secundo.* Fifteen days later, the case against his mother was, by the directions of the archbishop, revived. The Earl and his Countess adopted the tactics which the Algeos and Naismith had so skilfully used. His mother pled inability to attend church services, and all three were visited more than once by commissioners from the Presbytery. In November, 1627, they were reported to the Synod, and on January 20, 1628, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the Dowager Countess, and would have been against the Earl, but he "had taken a journey to the Court, for his necessary and lawful business." On February 3 the Countess was excommunicated.

The relations between the Abercorns and the Presbytery were bad enough. Two of them—the Countess and the Countess Dowager—were lying under the ban of excommunication, and power had been obtained to condemn the Earl to the same punishment, as well as several of his

servants. But in the month of May, 1628, an incident occurred by which the relations between them were aggravated. Claud Algeo was among the first of the Abercorn "servitors"[1] to be accused by the Presbytery. Owing to his withdrawal to Ireland, the process against him had been suspended. On his return it was revived, and on May 8, 1628, he was ordered to be cited for the third time. He is described as "having made shameful defection and apostacy from the trew religioun," and as "by his profest avowing of Poprie in reasoning against the trew religioun," having "become verie offensive and scandalous within the town of Paisley." On May 15, George Ramsay, the Presbytery officer, being commanded to serve the citation ordered by the Presbytery on the 8th of the month, went to him with the charge, when, instead of receiving him with that "reverent and modest behaviour" his errand merited, Algeo "immediately, be the allowance and approbation of his said master, sett upon the compleaner [Ramsay] and shamefullie and unmercifullie invaidit and persewed him of his lyffe, threw him to the ground under his feete, and with his whole force and strenth punshed him with his hands and feete, birsed his bowells and intraills and with his falded niffis [fists] dang and dadded him upoun the eyes to the hazard and perrell of his eyes and losse of his sight and gave him manie blae and bloodie straikis, till he fell a swooning." Leaving him for dead, Algeo went and told his master what he had done, "who most kyndelie and cheerefullie ressaved him, allowing and approveing all that he did." Recovering soon after, and hearing that Algeo had gone to his master, Ramsay followed him and complained of the treatment he had received. Hamilton was then in the dwelling-house of the laird of Beltrees, and Algeo was with him. When Ramsay appeared, Algeo again set upon him, and "with the allowance of his master," again gave him a number of "blae and bloodie straikis." Ramsay then had recourse to the Bailies of the town, who went to "Beltrees yett" to appre-

[1] He was servant to Claud Hamilton, brother to the Earl.

hend Claud Algeo, but as soon as their presence at the gate and their purpose were known to his master, Claud Hamilton, Hamilton "comes unto thame and in a verie boasting and threatning maner upbraidit thame with manie disgracefull and threatning speeches, calling thame 'beasts' and 'fooles,' 'how durst they presoome or mint to take ordour with aine of his servants,' and with that he and his man come to the streets, walked up and down a long tyme, boasting and threatning those that durst presoome to meddle with thame, sua that the baillies wer forced for feare of thair lyves to suffer the said Claud Algeo to escape."[1]

Hamilton and his servant were evidently a couple of masterful and probably exasperated spirits. Their attack on Ramsay, who was, at any rate, a faithful and practised servant, cannot be justified, though the citation he attempted to serve contained much to provoke them. The Bailies do not appear to have been particularly enthusiastic in the cause of the Presbytery; nor do the people. We hear nothing of a rising of the townsmen to put down the "heretics." The time for anything of that sort was not yet come.

At the next Presbytery meeting, May 23, Ramsay reported that he had summoned Algeo, and Mr. James Hutcheson was instructed "to acquaint Mr. Andro Hamilton that he had been ordained to proceed against the said Claud be public admonitions." On June 5, Hutcheson reported that he had carried out his instructions against Algeo; and on the same day a complaint[2] was heard before the Privy Council at the instance of the archbishop of Glasgow, the moderator and brethren of the Presbytery of Paisley, and George Ramsay, their officer, against Algeo, for assaulting Ramsay when in the discharge of his duty, on the 15th ultimo. Claud Hamilton and Algeo had both been ordered to appear, but Hamilton alone answered the summons. Witnesses were heard, and the Lords found that Hamilton had committed

[1] Reg. P. C., ii. 327-8 (N. S.).

[2] The petition was lodged May 17, 1628. Reg. P. C., ii. 597 (N. S.).

"a very great wrong" in not punishing his servant, and ordered him to be warded in the Castle of Edinburgh at his own charges till they released him. Algeo was ordered to be denounced a rebel and escheated. After twelve days' warding, Hamilton was released, in order that he might attend to the affairs of his brother, the Earl of Abercorn, in Paisley and the west, on condition that he paid £40 to Ramsay for the assault.[1]

Nine days after the release of Claud Hamilton—that is, on June 26, 1628—the case against Marion Boyd, the Dowager Countess of Abercorn, and Thomas Algeo, her servant, was opened before the Privy Council. The complainants or prosecutors were, of course, the Moderator and Presbytery of Paisley. Algeo failed to appear, and was ordered to be denounced and escheated. Mr. John Hay appeared for the Presbytery, and William Hamilton for his mother, the Countess. The charge was the usual one of refusal to frequent kirk, to subscribe the Confession of Faith, to "participat of the sacraments," and "ane constant and obdured resolution to continew in thair erroneous and foolish opinions." Hamilton produced a "testimoniall," signed by Mr. Andro Hamilton, minister at Kilbarchan; Mr. Robert Hamilton, doctor of medicine; Gavin Hamilton, vicar of Kilbarchan; John Marshall and Ezekiel Montgomerie, elders at the kirk of Kilbarchan, testifying that, through weakness and infirmity, the Countess was unable to travel, "as she declared apoun her conscience." The Lords accordingly excused her absence, and assigned July 17 as the day on which she was to appear before them. In the event of her not being able to travel then, she was to "cleere the same by ane sufficient and laughfull testimonial from some of the ministrie testifeing apoun thair oath and conscience to that effect."[2] Failing to appear on March 18, 1628, she was charged to appear before the Court on the following Tuesday to hear and see letters of horning decerned to be directed against her; when again failing to appear, she was denounced

[1] Reg. P. C., ii. 334 (N. S.).

[2] Reg. P. C., ii. 343 (N. S.).

and put to the horn.[1] Soon after this she was imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and subsequently in the Canongate prison. Confinement in these loathsome dens soon procured for her ladyship "many heavy diseases, so as this last whole winter she was almost tied to her bed," and she now "found a daily decay and weakness in her person." Representations were made to the King on her behalf, who, though anxious not to do anything to displease her reverend persecutors, on July 9, 1629, ordered that she should have licence to go to the baths "about Bristol," lest she should be "brought to the extremity of losing her life for want of ordinary remedies," but on the conditions that she should not attempt to appear at Court, and that, after her recovery, she should return and place herself at the disposal of the Council.[2] The poor lady did not go to Bristol. After six months more restraint in the Canongate prison, she was permitted to reside in the house of Duntarvie, on condition that "she sall contein herself [therein] so warily and respectively as she shall not fall under the break of any of His Majesty's laws," and that while living there she should hold conference with Protestant ministers, and not with Jesuits or mass-priests.[3] After being under restraint for about three years, she was formally licensed, on March, 1633, to come to Paisley for the "outred" of some weighty business, but only on condition that while here she should not "reset Thomas Algeo nor no Jesuits," and should return by a certain day, under penalty of five thousand merks. She never returned. Broken in body, if not in mind, soon after her arrival in Paisley, her Ladyship succumbed beneath the disease she had contracted in prison, and died. Her body was buried in S. Mirin's chapel, where a leaden tablet on the walls records the year of her death. Whatever may be thought of her opinions in religion, it is impossible not to sympathize with her Ladyship in her sufferings, and to admire the constancy of her faith. The system under which she was slowly done

[1] Reg. P. C., iii. 109 (N. S.). [2] Reg. P. C., iii. 211, 253 (N. S.).
[3] Reg. P. C., iii. 417 (N. S.).

to death was as odious as any invented against the Protestants, and was worked by a set of men who posed as the champions of the right of private judgment in matters of religion.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, the Earl had left the country. The case against him was not concluded; it was simply suspended. Thomas and Claud Algeo had been excommunicated and declared rebels. The proceedings against Pendreich and Leslie had, for some reason, been stopped. Mr. Andro Hamilton had at last brought himself to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Isobel Mowatt. One would like to know more about Mr. Andro. He appears to have had some scruples about pronouncing the final sentence against his parishioners, and hedged and delayed as long as he could, both in the case of the Dowager Countess and in that of Isobel Mowatt. Was he more tolerant or enlightened than his co-presbyters? Anyhow, it was only under the threat of suspension that he pronounced sentence upon either.

To all appearance the brethren of the Presbytery were the victors in their long struggle with the Abercorns and their servants, but in reality they were the vanquished. Of all the suspects in the family and household whom they called before them, they succeeded in overcoming the scruples or in converting only one. This was John Naismith, who, on November 22, 1628, signed a document, according to which he accepted the Confession of Faith and obliged himself to attend preaching and communion, and such conferences for his better instruction, as the Presbytery might appoint. The triumph was a small one, and of a doubtful character. The reality of a religious faith or conversion arrived at under the fear of pains and penalties is never above suspicion. As for the rest, the brethren were met with a determination as strong as their own, and they failed to break it down. Doubtless they imagined that they were doing good. The inquisitors of Spain and of the Netherlands imagined the same. The story we have now briefly told is far from being without parallels. It forms an important chapter in the history of the town, and throws a strange, if not a lurid light upon the way in which the burgh was ruled in matters of faith.

CHAPTER XX.

PRAYER BOOK AND COVENANT.

In 1633, Charles I. was crowned at Edinburgh. He adopted the ecclesiastical policy of his father, and began at once to press on measures for the assimilation of the Church of Scotland to the Church of England.

The form of Church government which had now for some time prevailed in Scotland, and under which the events narrated in the last chapter occurred, may be described as a combination of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy. Every parish had its Kirk Session, consisting of laymen and presided over by the minister. It took charge of the moral and religious affairs of the parish, and for light offences administered discipline. In each district was a Presbytery, consisting of all the beneficed ministers within the bounds. It was presided over by a moderator, who was appointed by the bishop, and whose appointment was regarded as permanent. The united Presbyteries of an ecclesiastical province, presided over by the bishop, formed the Synod of the province. Over all was the General Assembly of the Kirk.

The ritual observed was simple. Public prayers were partly read and partly extemporaneous. The read prayers were from the Book of Common Order, which, as it was usually bound up with the Psalms, was commonly known as the Psalm-Book. The Sacrament was received sitting at tables. Then, and for long after, that which was regarded as the main or most important part of public worship was the sermon. Besides the services on Sunday, there was usually one or more during the week.

In 1618, James VI. caused the Five Articles to be passed by the Assembly at Perth. They were not favourably received and were not ratified by Parliament till July, 1621.

Even then they continued to be opposed. By some they were observed; but in a majority of instances they were neglected. They ordained—1, That the sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord should be received kneeling; 2, That it might be administered to the sick in private; 3, That baptism might be administered at home when the child could not conveniently be brought to church; 4, That all children of eight years of age should be brought to the bishop on his visitation, to be questioned as to their knowledge and to receive his blessing; and 5, That the days commemorative of Christ's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost, should be devoutly observed.

In his desire to secure uniformity of worship throughout the two kingdoms, James also proposed to introduce into Scotland the use of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, or the use of one similar to it; but finding that he had enough to do in endeavouring to enforce obedience to the Articles of Perth, the proposal, though to some extent agreed to by the Assembly of 1618, was allowed to drop.

Charles I., soon after his coronation at Edinburgh, revived the proposal. A prayer-book, known as the Service Book, was prepared for Scotland; and in 1636, proclamation was made at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, charging all men, under pain of horning, to conform themselves to the new form of worship, and commanding all bishops and Presbyteries to see that the order was observed, and that every parish procured for its use at least two copies of the Prayer Book.

The resistance to the Five Articles of Perth had been, for the most part, passive; but as soon as the attempt was made to impose the Service Book upon the Kirk, the whole country was thrown into a ferment. The attitude of the people was unmistakable. They declared that the King had no right to impose a liturgy upon the nation without the consent of Parliament and of the General Assembly; as for the liturgy itself, they declared it to be Popish. All the same, a large portion of the clergy, but for the popular feeling, would in all probability have accepted the Service Book. The

bishops were in favour of it to a man. Of the ministers of Edinburgh, only one at first refused to read it; others were known to favour its introduction.

When the proclamation respecting the Service Book was made in the County of Renfrew, Mr. John Hay, who had taken so conspicuous a part in the prosecution of the Abercorns, was no longer minister of Paisley. In 1628, he had been translated to the parish of Renfrew, and had been succeeded in Paisley—September, 1629—by Mr. John Crichton, parson of Campsie. Mr. Crichton's settlement in Paisley had been harmonious and auspicious; but, while a man of parts, he was of a somewhat eccentric temper, and being one of those who favoured the Articles of Perth and were anxious for the introduction of the Service Book, he began to find himself in an exceedingly uncomfortable position as soon as the agitation arose about that unfortunate book. With the exception of himself and perhaps of Mr. John Hay, the Presbytery appear to have been unanimously against the Service Book, and on October 13, 1637, petitioned against it. They objected to it, not on the ground that they were opposed to prayer-books on principle, for they had one already, "established by authority, wherewith," they said, "we have been bred and educated ever since the Reformation," but on the grounds chiefly that "the same was not abolished," and that "the liturgy now urged seemeth to us in sundry particulars to be different from what we have embraced and preferred." The petition was late, and was, perhaps, a mere matter of policy. One of their number was sent with it to Edinburgh, with instructions "to advise and consult with the rest of the brethren or other good Christians that shall happen to be present in Edinburgh or elsewhere, concerning such a wise and fair course as shall be thought fit and expedient to be taken concerning the Service Book." But by this time things in Edinburgh had gone far beyond the stage when they could be stopped by petitions. The lawfulness of Episcopacy itself was called in question, and a settled determination had taken hold of the people to do away with everything that savoured of it. The Presbytery

were late also in keeping the fast ordained to be held, in order to "the saving of the Kirk of Scotland from all innovations of religion." The Covenant had been signed at the end of February, 1638, but the fast was not observed in the Presbytery till the month of June following. Nor is there apparently any mention of the Covenant in the Presbytery's Records till the month of August.

That the ferment which had spread through the country, and had its headquarters in Edinburgh, was felt in Paisley, there can be no doubt; but singularly enough, for many months after it had begun, the amount of business done by the Presbytery of Paisley was very small. Time after time the brethren met, but did little more than take part in the exercises preliminary to the dispatch of public business. On the whole, it may be doubted whether they were at first altogether unanimous in respect to the Service Book and Covenant, and whether, for a time at least, they adopted anything more than a waiting policy. Their petition against the Service Book may have been, as has been already hinted, a mere matter of prudence. It was passed, so far as the Records show, with unanimity; but how many of the members were present is not shown. Their instructions to Mr. Mathew Brisbane, whom they sent with their petition to Edinburgh, are plain proof that at the time they were in doubt as to what their policy should be. But as time went on and things began to clear themselves, they made up their minds and resolved to throw in their lot with the popular party. On June 22, 1638, acting on instructions from Edinburgh, they requested Mr. John Hay to resign his office as Moderator, and at their next meeting, July 5, 1638, when he failed to appear and resign, they resolved that, in future, the Moderator should be changed every six months, and for the six months ensuing, they appointed Mr. Mathew Brisbane.

Upon Mr. Crichton the movement of events had no effect. He was still in favour of the Articles of Perth, and still advocated the use of the Service Book. In the course of his ministry, he had not hesitated to give expression to his opinions, and on July 26, 1638, he was formally cited by the

Presbytery to answer a series of complaints made against him by a number of his parishioners. No fewer than thirty-four charges were laid against him. Many of them reflect the mere gossip of the town. Some of them are evidently exaggerations or misunderstandings of what he had said. When the witnesses were heard against him, Crichton, for some reason, did not attend, and when sent for by the Presbytery, refused to obey their summons, and thus played into the hands of his enemies. Some of the charges brought against him were different from those already alluded to. The Laird of Beltrees and his servant testified that they had found the minister "beastly drunk." One charge brought against him was, that he had baptized without prayer or exhortation. Another was that he had "profaned the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by casting away the long table and placing a short table altar-wise with a fixed rail about it, within which he stood himself, and reached the elements unto the people kneeling without about the rail." Still another was that when on his way to preach one day he had struck a beggar "to the effusion of his blood in great quantity." In his absence, the Presbytery found him guilty on all the points of the indictment. They did not venture to proceed to pass sentence; but referred it to the Assembly, which was shortly to meet in Glasgow. Crichton, of whom his cousin, Baillie, the Church historian, always speaks with kindness, went up to London in order to obtain the intervention of the royal authority, but failed. According to Baillie, again, he was "willing to clear himself of many things laid to his charge and to confess his errors, if he might be allowed to remain in Paisley." The people of the town, however, made it quite plain that they did not desire him to remain. When his case was called in the Assembly, he failed to appear and was deposed. "Mr. John Crichton, minister of Paisley," says Balfour, "being found by witnesses that he was ane professed Arminian and Popish champion, him the Assemblie all in one voice deposed."[1]

[1] Baillie, Letters and Journals, i. 172; Annals, ii. 368.

By this time the Presbytery had thoroughly made up their minds as to the side with which to cast in their lot, and were, with perhaps one exception, Mr. Hay of Renfrew, all thoroughly Covenanting. Mr. Henry Calvert, who succeeded Crichton in Paisley, was an Englishman who, having fled to Ireland, was admitted to Oldstone in 1630, but refusing to sign the Canons, had been deposed, and had come over to Scotland, hoping to fare better here. An entirely different man from his predecessor, he had no weakness for the Service Book or for altar railings. Though weak in health, he was an indefatigable worker, and a stern disciplinarian. He was presented to the parish by the Earl of Abercorn, and was inducted July 1, 1641. Before his induction he acknowledged himself willing "to give to a second minister" five chalders of his grain stipend, and promised to add another chalder, if the Presbytery, himself and the parishioners, could agree upon the individual to be appointed.

A "second minister" was found in the person of Mr. Alexander Dunlop. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Henry Calvert's health broke down, and the parishioners provided him with an assistant in the person of Mr. Dryfesdale, who, like Mr. Calvert, had been obliged to leave Ireland because of his opinions. All these were zealous Covenanters. Mr. Dunlop was a man of great learning and of great power as a preacher, and is said to have had "a strange gift or faculty of making very difficult things plain, even to the common people's capacities." In the pulpit he is said to have used a "holy groan" at the end of some of his sentences, much, it would appear, to the edification of his admirers. But so far as zeal for the Covenant was concerned, there was nothing to distinguish any one of the three ministers from his colleagues. Besides taking care that all respected and signed the Covenant, the three ministers, like the brethren of the Presbytery in general, took to the ancient pastime of hunting out Catholics. Lord and Lady Semple were treated in the same way as Lord and Lady Abercorn had been treated a few years before.

In 1642, the Earl of Abercorn had returned, and on

May 19 of that year, Mr. Henry Calvert and Mr. John Hay were sent by the Presbytery "to speak to his Lordship anent the subscription of the Covenant and anent his coming to the Church and anent the bringing back of his eldest son according to the Act of the Provincial Assembly." To some of their demands the Earl answered "that he was entered into conference with the brethren at Edinburgh, and that he was going East again and was to continue in conference with them." As to his son, "his Lordship shows," they reported, "that he has recommended him to a very religious friend and Protestant for his education, viz., a cousin-german of his late wife's." This report was made on June 2, 1642, and on August 25 following, the same ministers, with the addition of Mr. Hugh Blair, were directed by the Presbytery to go "and intimate to the Earl of Abercorn, the Act of General Assembly both anent the religion and the transportation of his children, and to report this day fifteen days."

What happened when they went, or whether they went at all, is not known. In the extant minutes of the Presbytery, nothing further is reported.

The next we hear of the case is in the proceedings of the General Assembly under the date July 22, 1646. The Commissioners of the General Assembly then directed the Presbyteries of Edinburgh and Paisley to take notice of the Earl whenever he came within their bounds, and to proceed against him without delay in the event of his not giving satisfaction concerning his religion. In the following September, the Earl was in Paisley, and on the 21st of that month, the Commissioners of the General Assembly appointed the Presbytery of Paisley to desire him "to give his children to some Protestant friends that they may be well educated in the religion professed in this Kirk," and immediately to "enter in process against the Earl himself in respect of his obstinate continuance in Popery."

The brethren of the Presbytery were not slow to obey the injunctions of the Commissioners, but they soon found that they had landed themselves in difficulties. Rather than submit any longer to the persecutions of these intolerant

ecclesiastics, the Earl had resolved to leave the country, and was steadily making preparations to do so. Consequently, the Presbytery are found in November of the same year, writing to the Commissioners for advice, and on the 18th of the month they are informed that it is the opinion and advice of the Commissioners of the Assembly that "the said Presbytery continue and suspend any farther proceedings against the Earl until the term of Whitsunday next, and that in respect of the earnest desire of the Lord of Paisley, the Earl's son, who is of the Religion and of hopeful expectation, and of the Lord Angus, and other noble friends of that family, that the Earl may in that time order and settle his affairs for the good of his said son and that family, which otherwise would perish by the Earl's present removal out of the country before his business is settled, the said Lord Angus, or some other noble friends of that family giving satisfactory assurance to the Presbytery touching the education of the Earl's children, his removing Popish servants, and abstaining from mass and the company of Jesuits and priests, and for his attending conference in Edinburgh or Glasgow when occasion shall bring him there."

The following April the Commissioners learned that the Earl's children were to be sent to Paisley or Glasgow, more probably the latter, and therefore wrote to the Paisley Presbytery on the 13th of the month, saying: "Understanding that the children of the Earl of Abercorn are to be sent to your University to be educated there, we are only to recommend them to your special care and oversight, especially that according to the orders of the General Assembly, you take notice of the pedagogues and servants with them, which is all we have to say." Later on in the day, however, the Commissioners learnt that, in consequence of the prevalence of the plague in Glasgow, the Earl had resolved to send his children to St. Andrews, under the care of the Earl of Lauderdale and Lord Balmerino. They accordingly informed the Presbyteries of the two places, and gave special instructions to that of St. Andrews to watch over the children, and to prevent them being communicated with by Catholics.

Three months later, the Earl was in Edinburgh, and the Commissioners at once directed the Presbytery there to hold conferences with him as long as he remained there, "and if," they said, "he go to his house in the countrie, recommend the Presbytery of Paisley to confer with him."

The Earl did not leave the country so soon as was expected. All the same, the process went on against him. At length, in 1649, the General Assembly, which, as we have seen, had long since taken the case out of the hands of the Presbytery, pronounced the sentence of excommunication and banishment against him. The sentence was enforced. The Earl was compelled to part with his estates and to leave the country. In 1652, the lordship of Paisley was sold to the Earl of Angus, who, in the following year, sold it to Lord Cochrane, afterwards Earl of Dundonald, and thus for a time the connection of the Hamiltons with the burgh, after existing for close upon a century, ceased.

Mr. Calvert and his colleagues were, doubtless, good men according to their light, but they were thoroughly fanatical. It was probably on their advice that, in 1649, the Town Council ordered the market to be held on Fridays, and sermon to be preached in the forenoon, during which "no business was to be done under pain of five pounds, and every person to go to kirk." Later on, they ordained that "on the Sabbath Day any horse kept on the common land of the burgh should be tethered, so that the Lord's Day be not profaned by persons abiding out of church in time of sermon, and in gathering, and using profaneness after sermon." Nine years before, on March 17, 1640, the brethren of the Presbytery "resenting how many and great abuses were committed at marriage brydels by pipeing and danceing, as blasphemies, drunkines, provocatioun to uncleanes, and such like . . . ordained that out of pulpit publictlie, they should discharge the same under the paine of what punishment the Kirk enjoynes."

But the most fanatical and cruel of all the proceedings of the Presbytery at this time, were those connected with Margaret Hamilton, commonly known as "the good-wife of

Ferguslie." Her case and that of her sisters occupied the Presbytery a long time, and are recorded on many pages of its proceedings. Margaret was the wife of John Wallace of Ferguslie, and together with her sister, Bessie Hamilton, wife of James Stewart, a burgess of Paisley, was denounced to the Presbytery by Mr. Henry Calvert, on June 16, 1642, for "not coming to the kirk these many years bygonne and her not communicating."

Mr. Calvert was at first sent to confer with her. Afterwards he was assisted by others of the brethren. When asked whether she would sign the Covenant, her reply was that she "knew not what the Covenant imported." As to attending church and communicating, she replied that "she had heretofore frequented God's house for hearing the word and communicating, and would do so in tyme coming if health of body permitted, whereof at that time she was forejudged, as the Commissioner reported." These answers did not satisfy the brethren.

Her sister seems to have been more outspoken and defiant, and, on August 25, was ordered to be proceeded against by public admonition. Both the sisters, notwithstanding repeated conferences, remained obdurate. On March 11, 1643, the good-wife was ordered to be cited to appear before the Presbytery "this day fifteen days;" but was not, owing to some dispute as to the serving of the summons. On April 13, George Ramsay, the Presbytery officer, was ordered to cite her for May 13, on which day she failed to appear. Subsequently, on May 25, her husband appeared at the bar of the Presbytery, and pled that she "was for the present altogether unable to travel anywhere," promising at the same time that as soon as her health permitted she would give obedience. The Presbytery do not seem to have been altogether satisfied with this, for, although they agreed "to desist from further citations for the present," they ordered Mr. Henry Calvert, who was doubtless quite willing, "to go to the said Margaret, and deal with her, and to examine that family, betwixt and the next Presbytery day, and to report."

When the next Presbytery day came, June 8, Mr. Henry Calvert reported that "he went to Margaret Hamilton, spouse to John Wallace of Ferguslie, and there did both read God's word in presence of the said Margaret and raise observations thereupon, did sing psalms, her daughter and youngest sons being present, but that he catechized none, unto all which exercises the said Margaret gave attendance."

The brethren then appointed Calvert their commissioner and directed him to go and put the good-wife upon her oath as to "whether it be inability of her body only that restrained her from coming to God's house for hearing His word, or if she have scruples of conscience anent the religion professed within the Kirk and kingdom." He was also directed "to catechize the said Margaret and the rest of the family betwixt and the next Presbytery day, and to report." At the following meeting, June 22, Mr. Calvert produced the following as a proof of "his diligence and obedience to the ordinance of 8th June":—"At Ferguslie, 20 June, 1643, which day Mr. Henry Calvert, minister at Paisley, having gone to the dwelling-house of John Wallace of Ferguslie, conform to the commission of the Presbytery of Paisley above written, when Margaret Hamilton, spouse of John Wallace of Ferguslie, compeared before him and witnesses afternamed, and deponed and declared upon her conscience to the said Mr. Henry Calvert, that for the present she was unable to come to the kirk of Paisley for hearing the Word, and if it pleased God she were able, she would come thither for that effect. Likewise the same day, the said Mr. Henry began the exercise of catechizing the said family." This document bears that it was attested by Robert Wallace, one of the bailies of Paisley, and Alexander Clerk, two elders of the parish, who are declared to have been present with Mr. Henry Calvert when Margaret was put upon her oath and catechized. The brethren approved of the minister of Paisley's diligence, and agreed to desist from further proceedings till they saw whether "the said Margaret convalesced or not." Margaret was a long time in "convalescing," and nothing more is heard of her case, which her prosecutors

naturally took care to continue, till May 15, 1645, or for nearly two years.

In the meantime, the case against her sister Bessie had gone steadily on. Mr. Henry Calvert was too strict a disciplinarian, and too full of zeal, to let anything of the kind drop. On December 14, 1643, the poor woman dragged herself before the Presbytery, "and gave in her humble petition, desireing thereby a favourable supersedur of the Brethren from furder processe, alleadgeing she wes taken up with a continuall flux, and protesting so soon as it should please the Lord to grant her any respite or health she should give all her contentment to them and their demands." The answer of the brethren was that "she should come to the Manse of Paisley for conference whensoever (she being [fit] to travel), he [Mr. Henry Calvert] should call for her." A month later, on being questioned by the Presbytery, Calvert reported that "she was distressed as she formerly alleged;" whereupon he was directed to deal with her as her health permitted. He had frequent conferences with her, as also had other members of the Presbytery, but as she remained obdurate, on August 15, 1644, she was ordered to be prayed for *pro secundo*. Meantime a process had been raised against her second sister, Janet, and from this time—August, 1644—their names occur again and again on the pages of the Record. At last, at the meeting of the Presbytery, February 20, 1645, Mr. Henry Calvert reported that he had excommunicated the two unfortunate sisters.

Margaret, the good wife of Ferguslie, still remained to be dealt with, and having got Bessie and Janet off his hands, Mr. Calvert was not long in reviving the process against her. Three months had scarcely elapsed since the excommunication of her two sisters, when, upon May 15, 1645, he reported that "he had several times gone to Margaret Hamilton, spouse of John Wallace of Ferguslie, and conferred with her anent her subscribing of the Covenant and coming to the church, and her answer was that she was infirm and altogether unable in respect of disease to come to the church, and for the matter of the Covenant she asked a Covenant to

be given her, and read over and over again, and to be informed anent the meaning thereof." The minister was directed to confer with her again. This he did, and left a copy of the Covenant with her, and the Presbytery "gave her to their next meeting day, out of courtesy, with certification that if she do not obey, she will be proceeded against." She did not obey. George Ramsay, the Presbytery officer, was thereupon sent to summon her; and being hard pressed, she promised the minister that, before the next Presbytery day, she would 'abjure Popery and subscribe the Covenant.'" On July 11, the minister was appointed "to return to her with some of the elders of his parish and there . . . to receive her renunciation of Popery, first on one point and then on another point, and so of all the rest." After this was done, they were to see her swear and subscribe the Covenant. Notwithstanding her promise, Margaret was still unwilling to obey the Presbytery, and it was not until March 27, 1646, as the Records of the Presbytery bear, that she had renounced Popery and sworn and subscribed the Covenant in the presence of the two ministers of Paisley, and of five of the elders of the parish. The minute recording this in the Presbytery Records is specially attested by the Clerk.

Mr. Henry Calvert and his fellow zealots, however, were not yet satisfied. On June 25, 1646, the ministers of Paisley complained to the Presbytery that, notwithstanding her oath of March 27, "on account of pretended inability of body, by reason of many diseases, Margaret, now residing at Blackstoun, in the parish of Kilbarchan, does not come to kirk at all." Messrs. Alexander Glendinning and Alexander Dunlop were accordingly sent to her by the brethren "to desire her to the kirk or to produce before the Presbytery ane testimoniall under the hand of James Fleming, physician, that she is unable to come to the kirk." Much to the annoyance of the Presbytery the "testimoniall" was not produced for some time. But on July 30, Margaret's son, Allan Wallace, appeared before the court, bringing with him the desired certificate. In that, James Fleming testified upon his con-

science that Margaret was unable to travel either on foot or on horse "for diseases and several reasons contained in the testimoniall." The certificate, the brethren admitted, satisfied the Act, but it did not satisfy them. They "appointed the minister at Paisley to deal with John Wallace of Ferguslie to provide ane chamber in the town of Paisley for his wife, that she may reside there for her more easy coming to the kirk." The good-wife did not come to the kirk; neither did her husband provide a chamber for her in the town of Paisley. Accordingly, he was cited to appear at the bar of the Presbytery. When there, in answer to the questions put to him, he stated that his wife was not in a fit state to be removed from her house at Blackstoun. The brethren again desired him to bring her to Paisley that she might the more easily attend the church, or "if she be not able to come to the kirk, that the ministers may have occasion of daylie or frequent conference with her, or else to bring the testimoniall of James Fleming, physician, that she is not able to be removit at all." This was on September 3, 1646. On the 24th of the month, Wallace again appeared before the Presbytery to say that "he could not find opportunity of James Fleming to visit his wife, albeit he has sent for him severall tymes." The brethren deemed this an impotent excuse, and incontinently directed him "to bring his wife either be land or be water from Blackstone to Paisley betwixt and the next Presbytery day . . . or they will process her." Wallace again disobeyed, and more citations followed. On March 11, 1647, Mr. John Hamilton and Mr. Henry Calvert were "appointed to deal with Margaret Hamilton and try her healthe and abilitie, in respect she still professed inhabilitie and great infirmitie of bodie, so that thereby she is not able to travel anie where." The conference was without result, except that the Presbytery, on April 1, 1647, directed Margaret to be publicly admonished. On the 23rd of the month, Mr. Henry Calvert reported to the Presbytery that she had promised to satisfy the brethren. This she failed to do, and was reported to the Synod. That body directed Mr. Henry Calvert and Mr. John Hamilton to

see the good-wife. Their report was that "they had gone and seen her infirm, and so still pleading inhabilitie. They have gotten her promise to come to the kirk of Paisley within twentie days to give content and satisfaction on that point, albeit she should be carried in her bed." And carried in her bed she was. Lying on a bed, resting on a framework of wattles, she was solemnly borne along, as if to her burial, from Blackstone to Paisley, and thence to the Abbey Church, where she was carried down the aisle and laid upon the floor in the most patent place of the church. In the Presbytery book it is solemnly recorded, under date June 2, 1647, that Mr. Henry Calvert, minister at Paisley, reported that "on the last Lord's day Margaret Hamilton, spouse to John Wallace of Ferguslie, came to the kirk of Paslay carried on ane wand bed." Surely a stranger sight was never seen in a church.

While all this was going on, other things were happening in Paisley and its neighbourhood, which were agitating the mind of the Presbytery and contributing to the life and history of the town.

The attempt on the part of Charles to force the Service Book upon the people had plunged the country into civil war, and proved itself the one thing needed to bring the majority of the people over to Presbyterianism—to Presbyterianism pure and simple, probably as it was conceived by Knox, but had hitherto failed to obtain a footing in Scotland.

The General Assembly which met at Glasgow on November 21, 1638, after sitting six days, was dissolved by the Royal Commissioner, the Marquess of Hamilton, but continued to sit until December 21. Its leaders were the Earls of Argyll, Eglinton, and Rothes, and the moderator and clerk, Mr. Henderson, minister at Leuchars, and Johnstone of Warriston. Among its members were, from Paisley and its neighbourhood, Messrs. William and Mathew Brisbane and Mr. Alexander Hamilton, ministers, and Sir Ludovic Houston of that ilk, Porterfield, the Goodman of Duchal, and John Brisbane, laird of Bishopton. The business transacted was

of the most momentous kind, and unless the King would be contented to see his authority openly set at naught with impunity, and allow the Covenanters to have their way, could lead only to an outbreak of civil war.

The members, who, with rare exceptions, were Covenanters of the fiercest type, saw this. In the following month, they met in Edinburgh, where they appointed a War Committee to sit permanently. They also directed similar committees to be formed in every shire in the country, and, in some parts, in every Presbytery. They ordered, also, a representative to be sent by every county to the central committee to receive and transmit instructions. The local committees were appointed to give orders in all military affairs, enlist soldiers, obtain provisions, raise money, and generally to carry out the instructions of the permanent committee in Edinburgh. "In all the land," writes Baillie, "we appointed noblemen and gentlemen for commanders; divided so many as had been officers abroad among the shires; put all our men who could bear arms to frequent drillings; had frequent, both public and private, humiliations before our God, in Whom was our only trust; every one, man and woman, encouraged their neighbours: we took notice at Edinburgh of the names, disposition, forces of all who joined not with us in covenant, and appointed that in one day the castle of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and all chief adversaries should be essayed." [1]

As their representative on the War Committee in Edinburgh, the Presbytery of Paisley sent Mr. Mathew Brisbane, to whom they had entrusted the presentation of their petition against the Service Book. A War Committee was formed in the county, men were drilled, and Lord Montgomery, eldest son of the Earl of Eglinton, was appointed their colonel. In the neighbouring county of Ayr, as many as twelve thousand horse and foot soldiers were raised; but those raised in the county of Renfrew were insufficient to form a regiment; and in order to bring up their numbers, men

[1] Letters and Journals, i. 194.

were added from Glasgow, and probably from Cunningham. "This accrese to Baranthrow" [Renfrew], writes Baillie, "with divers lands of Cuningham, made my Lord Montgomery's regiment among the strongest; but the piety and military discipline of his people was commended above all the rest."[1]

When the Covenanters set out under General Leslie to meet the army of the King, the Presbytery of Paisley "thought it most expedient and necessary that Mr. Mathew Brisbane should go with Colonel Montgomery and the company to Dunce Hill for their comfort and other exercise of devotion." Mr. Brisbane went; but on May 23, the day on which the King set out with his army from Alnwick on his way to Berwick, a letter was read from Mr. Brisbane in the Presbytery, asking to be allowed to return to his parish, and Mr. John Hamilton was thereupon sent to take his place, and appears to have remained in the field till the armies were broken up.

When Leslie crossed the Tweed, in August, 1640, Colonel Montgomery and his Renfrewshire Company accompanied him, and marched with him into Newcastle, after the affair of Newburn, where Conway was defeated and the way opened up for the march of the Scottish army into the heart of England. The war was ended for the time by the ratification of the Treaty of Ripon, on October 26. Whether the Renfrewshire men then returned home, there is nothing to show. The Scots army was not disbanded till August 28, 1641, or till ten months after the ratification of the treaty. It was waiting to be paid for the "brotherly assistance" it had rendered to the army of the Parliament of England.

One effect which these victories of the Covenanters had, was to increase the intolerance and pride of the ministers. According to Burnet "the strictness of piety and good life which had gained them so much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and instead of that, a fierceness of temper and a copiousness of many long sermons and much long

[1] Letters and Journals, i. 201.

prayers came to be the distinction of the party."[1] Instances of the intolerance of the ministers at Paisley we have already had. It was at this time that they were engaged in their persecution of the Earl of Abercorn, the good-wife of Ferguslie and her sisters, Bessie and Janet Hamilton.

Another effect of the same victories was to encourage in the minds of the ministers the hope of establishing the Presbyterian form of religion in "all neighbouring countries." On April 1, 1641, some time after the affair of Newburn, and while the Scots army was waiting to be paid for the assistance it had rendered to the English Parliament, the brethren of the Paisley Presbytery "declared that they had kept a solemn fast with the Church of Scotland appointed to be kept the fourth of this instant,[2] for the preservation of the Scottish armies, keeping of the union and bond of peace among ourselves, the advancing of the reformation of all neighbouring countries with the disappointing of the practices of our adversaries and settling of religion and solid peace." When the Commissioners of the English Parliament appeared before the General Assembly, shortly after the battle of Edgehill, and expressed a desire for the establishment of some uniform system of religion, and requested assistance, an opportunity for furthering this "reformation of all neighbouring countries" appeared to have arisen, and it was with a view to using it that the Assembly agreed to and signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and despatched Leslie a second time across the border with an army.

That celebrated instrument—the Solemn League and Covenant—was drawn up in a single night, and after being twice read in their hearing, the members of the Assembly were asked to sign it. Mr. Brisbane, the Commissioner from the Presbytery of Paisley, stood up in his place and urged that the signing of the document should be postponed, and that the members should be allowed several days for its careful

[1] Own Times, I., Pt. i. 58 (Airy's Edit.).

[2] The Presbytery would appear to have held the fast on a day earlier than that on which it was appointed to be held.

consideration. For his pains he was cried down as a "rotten malignant."[1] In this matter, however, Mr. Brisbane by no means reflected the mind of those whom he represented. These meekly acquiesced in all that the Assembly did, and obeyed its directions in every particular. They read the "Warning for the ministers and the Declaration of the Cross Petition," which had been circulated in print from Edinburgh, held two solemn fasts to obtain a blessing upon the Convention of February, 1643, and in obedience to a letter from the Estates, each of them declared his willingness to furnish a man along with the brethren in other Presbyteries, for the expedition into England, and both accompanied Leslie with their prayers, and sent him chaplains for his troops.

In the following year (1644), an incident occurred which greatly agitated the inhabitants of Paisley, and filled them with many forebodings of evil. Leslie was meeting with a much more stubborn resistance in England than he anticipated. At the same time, the burghs in Scotland were refusing to pay the cess which had been imposed upon them to defray the cost of the war. Under the circumstances, it was deemed advisable to recall some of the troops which had been sent over to Ireland to keep the Irish in check, and to further the reformation of religion. The soldiers were starving, and were anxious to return, but the people of Paisley, who appear to have been acquainted with their character, had no desire to see them. In the month of April or in the beginning of May, two regiments landed, Lord Sinclair's at Irvine and the Lothian at Greenock, and at once began their march eastward, with the intention of lying at Paisley. The bailies of the burgh were advised of their intention by a letter which reached them at eleven o'clock at night, and were filled with consternation. Fortunately, Sir William Ross of Muriston chanced at the time to be staying at Hawkhead. The bailies went out to consult him, and acting upon his advice, they resolved to raise what force they could, and to oppose the entrance of the regiments into

[1] Bishop H. Guthry, Memoirs, 138.

the town. Next morning their preparations were scarcely completed, when word was brought to them that the Lothian regiment was at the Granter's house at Ferguslie. They at once took up a position outside the West Port at the head of 700 foot and 200 horsemen. Here they found Lord Sinclair, who had come to await the arrival of his men. He demanded that the town and county should lay down their arms, but, supported by the Earl of Glencairn, Sir William Ross and others, who had in the meantime arrived, the bailies stoutly refused. A long altercation ensued, when the bailies so far succeeded, that an agreement was made that three companies of the Lothian regiment should pass through the town to Renfrew, Govan, and Pollok, and that the remaining two should be quartered in Paisley.[1] Lawer's regiment, which had landed at Greenock in the beginning of March, soon followed. They were allowed to pass through the town, and subsequently quartered themselves upon the Carnwath estates in Clydesdale.

The people of the town and its neighbourhood, were not all of the same way of thinking of their King as their ministers were. Many of them, while good Covenanters, like Montrose, would, like him, never be traitors. Others of them would not have the Covenant at any price. They might have signed it, but their signatures having been obtained by intimidation or compulsion, were worthless. Others, again, had been driven into opposition by the hard and bitter rule of the ministers, and were casting about for relief from their tyranny. For a time they lay quiet, and nothing was heard of them. But when Montrose swept through the north and east, and entered Glasgow in his gallant but futile attempt to replace Charles on the throne, they did not hesitate to join him. His victory at Kilsyth, August 15, 1645, filled the Covenanters in Renfrewshire and elsewhere with alarm. The Earl of Glencairn, who was busy raising levies, as soon as he heard of it, fled along with the Earl of Cassilis to

[1] Carte, Life of Duke of Ormond, iii. 74; Eglinton MSS., 52; Baillie, ii. 104.

Ireland, and the Earls of Lanark and Crawford-Lindsay lost no time in joining the Marquess of Argyll at Berwick, whither he had fled from the field of battle as fast as his horse could carry him.[1]

After the battle of Philiphaugh, September 13, 1645, where Montrose was defeated by Leslie, the Covenanters once more breathed freely. Ten weeks before the battle, or on July 1, the Presbytery of Paisley had ordained a solemn fast, but no thanksgiving was ordained to be held after it. This was probably due to the fact that, at the time, the plague was raging virulently in Paisley. For the same reason, on November 6, 1645, the Presbytery met at Houston, and did not venture to return to Paisley until March 26 of the following year.

Soon after the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, the Presbytery were instructed to institute proceedings against all within the bounds who had taken part or sympathized with him. On February 12, 1646, their instructions were renewed, and again on March 5, they received definite instructions to proceed to the trial of those in their several parishes who had sympathized with him, and to report to the next meeting. On May 21, in the same year, immediately after the brethren had resumed their sittings in Paisley, the ministers of the burgh applied for "powers from the Presbytery for the judicial trial and examination of such persons as are suspected to have had compliance with James Graham and Alexander Macdonald or received protection from them."

Needless to say, the powers were willingly granted, and under the indefatigable zeal of Messrs. Calvert and Dunlop, the royalists and their sympathizers in Paisley had a hard time of it. Their examination and trial continued to be for some time the chief business of the Kirk Session and Presbytery. Among those cited in Paisley and its parish were Sir William Ross, John Wallace of Ferguslie, Alan, his son, Robert Wallace and Robert Fork, ex-bailies of Paisley,

[1] Guthry, 194.

Archibald Stewart, Bailie John Vaus, James Alexander, William Wallace, and James Ross. Their citation was reported to the Presbytery by Messrs. Calvert and Dunlop, on May 7, 1646, when their cases were all remitted to the Kirk Session for trial; and on October 1, Mr. Dunlop reported that "last Lord's Day Sir William Rosse, John Wallace of Ferguslie, Robert Wallace, Robert Fork," and the rest, "had publiclie, in face of the congregation [of the church in Paisley] declairit themselffis greivit and sorie for haveing hand in taking protectione for the towne and parochin of Paisley and withall confessit their fawlt." Nothing is said in the minute respecting their sympathy with Montrose and his policy. According to the record, all that they confessed to, and all that they were charged with, was that they had gone out in the interest of themselves and their neighbours to Montrose at Bothwell, and induced him not to let loose his Highlanders upon the town and parish, and their confession of sorrow for this in the presence of the congregation, looks very much as if they were quietly holding up the Kirk Session and Presbytery to public ridicule, or as if they were publicly expressing their regret that they had ever taken the trouble to ward off from the town and parish the evils with which they had been threatened. But whether that was the case or not, if the record fairly represents the mind of the Kirk Session, it shows that Sir William Ross and his companions were unjustly punished, and that in the blindness of their fanaticism the ministers and elders of the town were capable of returning evil for good.

In 1648, the Presbytery, in obedience to the Committee in Edinburgh, denounced the "sinful Engagement," by which, among other things, Charles agreed to confirm the Covenant by Act of Parliament, so far as to give security to those who had signed it, but refused to constrain anyone in future to take it, and on April 12, 1649, John Wallace of Ferguslie, and his son Alan, Robert Fork, elder, and Robert Alexander, late bailies of Paisley, were made to appear at the bar of the Presbytery to answer "for their accession to the late sinful engagement," and were "referred to the Assembly."

When, on May 3, 1648, Parliament, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, ordered a levy of 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse, the Presbytery again carried out the instructions they received from Edinburgh. They read from their pulpits the Committee of the Assembly's protest against the levy, and backed up the protest by ordering a public fast. In Glasgow, also, the levy was resisted by the instructions of the ministers; but Sir James Turner made short work of the protesters by quartering troops upon them. From Glasgow he came to Paisley, and quartered his regiment in the neighbourhood. This appears to have been quite sufficient to quell disobedience to the Parliament. Any who were disposed to give practical effect to the protest of the ministers, soon discovered that it was better to obey the Estates than to obey the Assembly's Committee. Referring to his stay in Paisley, Sir James Turner writes: "The people from the several parishes came to me so fast, offering their obedience to Parliament, that I knew not where to quarter my present men."[1]

So long as the Civil War continued in England, and for some time after, except on the two occasions alluded to, the Presbytery reigned supreme both in Paisley and in the County of Renfrew, and ruled the people as fanatics alone know how. But when Charles II. was accepted as the Covenanting King, the tables were turned against them. The armies of the Covenant had to meet armies quite as fanatical as themselves, but better drilled and better led. As a consequence, they went down before them, and the Presbyteries went with them.

One piece of vandalism perpetrated by the Presbytery of Paisley at this time deserves to be noticed. On May 1, 1645, that reverend body ordered the finial crosses on the Abbey Church in Paisley to be taken down; and on the 15th of the same month, the ministers of the town reported that they had obeyed the instructions they had received, and that the crosses had been taken down.

[1] Memoirs, 55; Cp. Baillie, iii. 47.

CHAPTER XXI.

PAISLEY AND THE ENGLISH PURITANS.

So soon as the news of the execution of Charles I. reached Edinburgh, the Estates proclaimed his eldest son, Charles II., King of Scotland. On June 23, 1650, Charles reached the mouth of the Spey, and landed, but not before he had signed the Solemn League and Covenant. The Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Lauderdale were in his train, but he was told that neither of these noblemen could be allowed to accompany him, as each of them had been implicated in the sinful Engagement. Charles found himself in strange company the moment he landed; but, according to Burnet, he wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could, and heard many prayers and sermons, some of great length.[1]

The negotiations which had been going on between Charles and the Commissioners for Scotland had been closely watched by the English Parliament, and five days after he had landed Cromwell set out from London on his way to Scotland. And what we have now to see is the part Paisley took in the war that followed, and how its inhabitants fared at the hands of the English Puritans.

According to the ancient laws of the Scottish burghs, every burgess in a royal burgh was bound to provide himself with, at least, two weapons with which to keep watch and ward in the burgh to which he belonged. In 1295, it was decreed that no burgess could will away his armour from his rightful heir, and frequent Acts of Parliament enjoined the people to assemble at stated times at musters and wapinschaws.

[1] Own Times, I. 93, Pt. i. (Airy).

Paisley appears to have adopted the custom of the royal burghs, and to have given obedience to the Acts of Parliament referred to. What its precise practice was in the sixteenth century is not exactly clear, but there is reason to assume that the burgesses were provided with their armour, and that when they attended the Bailies at the Head Courts or were "keeping the Fair," they wore their armour. On May 8, 1606, the Bailies and Council ordained the whole of the burgesses and freemen of the burgh to "prepare themselves in their armour in their best array, and to make their musters on Whit Tuesday next to come without further delay, under a penalty of forty shillings." They also resolved that, in future, no one should be admitted a burgess until he had produced his armour, and sworn that it was his own property. Two years later, we learn what armour a burgess was required to possess. On June 17, 1608, the "Lord Provost, Baillies and Town Council," ordained that all the burgesses and inhabitants, but "specially the burgesses, sal give their musters sufficientlie armit with jack, steill banat, plet sleivis, speir, and halbert," and give their oaths that the armour is their own. Two years later still, every householder was required to have in his house "ane halbert and Jedwart staff or lance," and, like the householders of Edinburgh, to have them ready at hand, so as to be able to use them promptly for the maintenance of the peace. On October 13, 1636, it was enacted that the fine for every burgess or freeman who failed to attend the Bailies at the Head Courts or to keep the Fair should be twenty shillings, and the rule was laid down that "none want armour carried by himself or a sufficient substitute." From a minute of the Council, under date November 20, 1648, it appears that the magistrates were then in the habit of keeping a store of arms, which were given out, as often as occasion required, to soldiers, by whom they were returned previous to their discharge from service.

When Cromwell set out for Scotland, Paisley had already taken steps for its own protection. On April 2, 1650, the

Town Council had resolved "that all inhabitants of the town shall be restrained in time coming during the time of levying to take on to be soldiers with any but the town;" and further, that the wives and children of those who had already "taken on with gentlemen outwith the town" should at once be sent to dwell on the lands where the husbands and fathers were serving, in order to prevent them from becoming a burden to the town. On the same day, the Council ordered the sum of two hundred pounds to be levied upon the burgesses, heritors, and inhabitants of the town for the "outreike" of a troop of horse soldiers. On July 8, the Council further resolved to "outreik twa horse on the town," to raise "the town's part of thirty-seven footmen and to join the Western Association." Twenty-one days later, a resolution was passed "to appoint the town presently [*i.e.*, immediately] to be put in a position of war, that one of the baillies should stay at home; to wit, Robert Fork, the other going to the army." Sergeants were also appointed "to drill the town," and guardmasters to oversee them.

Among the troops sent against Cromwell under Leslie was the Renfrewshire regiment under Colonel Montgomery, and the regiment raised by the ministers, under the command of Colonel Strahan, Montrose's victor at Carbisdale. If any of the men belonging to Paisley and its neighbourhood were present with Leslie, the probability is they were in one or other of these regiments, which, on the morning of July 30, made a fierce attack upon Cromwell's troops at Musselburgh, and though beaten back, inflicted some loss on the enemy.[1] They were present also at Dunbar, and shared the misfortune of the Scottish army on that disastrous field.

But disastrous as the battle of Dunbar was to the hopes of the Covenanters, neither the Town Council nor the Presbytery lost heart. On September 10, seven days after the battle, the Town Council secured the services of four men, and undertook to procure the best horse in the town for the army. On the 23rd of the month, a levy of £959 8s. Scots,

[1] Carlyle, Letters of Cromwell, Letter cxxxv.

was made upon the inhabitants of the burgh, in order to discharge the town's share in the cost of the "outriek" of the Five Shires or Western Association. At their meeting in September, the Presbytery resolved that "in respect of our army in the field against the Sectaries is scattered at Dunbar and that the gentlemen and ministers of the Western Shires are to meet at Kilmarnock, the Presbytery appoint Messrs. Alexander Dunlop and John Mauld to repair thither, and to concur with them in any good and necessary course for the safety of the cause and kingdom." At the same meeting, instructions were given to all the ministers within the bounds "to summon all who were fit and able for service against the enemy to enroll their names and to offer themselves cheerfully and willingly to the work."[1]

The five shires forming the Western Association were, according to Burnet,[2] "Clydesdale, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, and Nithsdale." The meeting at Kilmarnock, to which Messrs. Dunlop and Mauld were sent, was attended by "some of the chief gentlemen and ministers of the sheriffdoms of Ayr, Clydesdale, Renfrew, and Galloway." On the suggestion of Mr. Patrick Gillespie, minister of Glasgow, who was the chief spiritual guide of the Association, it was resolved, in view of the "present necessity, to raise a strength of horse and dragoons, as they had designed in their Association, but far above the proportion of any bygone levy," and "to put them all under the command of four colonels, the likeliest men to act speedily against the enemy, Ker, Strahan, Robin Hacket and Sir Robert Adair." The resolution was not arrived at unanimously. "My Lord Cassilis," says Baillie, "kept off Carrick; Galloway also did disrelish the matter," and the Committee of Renfrew seeing the "vast expense of the enterprise (for the very first outrek would amount to five hundred thousand pounds, and the daily charge to four or five thousand pounds upon the shires aforesaid) were generally averse from the motion." It was carried, however, by the Committees of Clydesdale, Kyle, and

[1] Presbytery Records, MS. [2] Own Times, I., Pt. i. 98.

Cunningham.[1] By the Town Council of Paisley as well as by the Presbytery in Renfrewshire, it had been, as we have seen, in some sort anticipated.

Meantime, Strahan and Ker had quarrelled with Leslie, and in order that they might be out of the way, at least for a time, they were sent to the west to raise troops, and to take charge of the western army, with the understanding that they were not to be troubled with orders from Leslie, but were to act independently. It is doubtful whether they were at the meeting just referred to, although they were among the colonels nominated in Gillespie's motion. In the beginning of October, Ker's regiment was quartered in Paisley, for on the 7th of the month, a levy of fourscore pounds was made upon the inhabitants of the burgh for the cost of quartering it in the town during the week preceding, and for the former expense of the "outriek of sexe troop of horse."

Between October 11 and 14, Strahan and Ker were in Glasgow, where Cromwell had arrived on Saturday, the 11th. He had received a letter of such importance from Strahan, that he had left the siege of Edinburgh Castle and had crossed the country to hold an interview with the two colonels. His object was to win them over to his side; but though he failed to do that, he had the satisfaction of learning that they were not likely to render much assistance to his enemies. On the Sunday, he listened to Zachary Boyd thundering away from the pulpit of the cathedral against the Sectaries; and on the following day (Monday, October 14) he returned to Edinburgh.[2] Three days later, Ker and Strahan, in conjunction with Gillespie and others, issued at Dumfries the remarkable manifesto known as the Remonstrance, in which they declared their intention not to fight for the King until he gave satisfactory evidence of sincere repentance and ceased to have dealings with the Malignants. Shortly after, Strahan joined Cromwell, and Ker, who now became the

[1] Baillie, iii. 111-112. The money is Scots.

[2] Baillie, iii. 119; Carlyle, Letter ci.

commander of the western army, let it be known that he would neither entangle himself with the English nor take orders from the Committee of the Estates.

Paisley now seems to have become one of the principal depots or headquarters of the Western Association. The Town Council had under its care a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and on November 11, 1650, directed that "in obedience to the letters and acts of the Committee of Association," the powder, match, and ball then in the town should be carried to the castle of Avondale, in order, it may be assumed, to be out of the way of the English, who appear to have been threatening the town. Later on, December 8, the Council further resolved that "the shire arms that are now in the Tolbooth, shall this night be transferred forthwith therefrom, and carried to some convenient place, where the same be hid from the enemy."

When Parliament met at Perth on the 26th of the month, one of its first acts was to condemn the Remonstrance, and to send Major-General Montgomery to the west to bring Ker to his senses; but before he could reach him, Ker had rushed upon his own destruction. On the 30th of the month, a letter was read in Parliament showing that the English general, Lambert, had marched west with seven thousand dragoons, to watch Ker's movements and, if possible, to drive him north of the Forth. Ker was them lying at Carmunnock with his army, and at four o'clock next morning he attempted, under cover of darkness, to surprise Lambert at Hamilton. The attempt failed; Ker was wounded and taken prisoner, and his troops were pursued to Paisley and Kilmarnock.[1]

In December, Colonel Kennedy's regiment was quartered in the town, and on the 16th of the month, the Town Council ordered a levy of three hundred merks to be made on the inhabitants, in order to defray the expense of their quartering.[2]

[1] Baillie, iii. 125; Douglas, Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns, 186.

[2] Town Council Records.

In the early part of the following year, a number of English soldiers were in the town. They appear to have had plenty of money, and to have spent it freely. Most of their time seems to have been spent in looting the farms and houses in the neighbourhood. Whether they left hurriedly or not does not appear. In either case, they left much of their booty behind them, which the owners or occupiers of the houses in which they had been quartered were far from eager to give up. Moreover, taking advantage of their presence in the town, the sellers of ale and victuals had seized the opportunity to run up their prices, and had refused to sell their goods at the prices fixed by the authorities. Whether the magistrates took any steps to rectify matters while the troops were present is uncertain, but when they were gone, the Town Council passed the following resolution: "May 5, 1651. The quhilk day, in respect there is diverse enormities and covetous practices done be severall in this towne, the enemy lately laye thereon, in taking from their neighbors at the tyme exorbitant pryces for their drink and refusing to receive money at the rule thereunto, it is cryed up be the laws of the kingdom notwithstanding the samyne bes a whyle preceding past at the new rates, and in retaining cuntrie men's victualls and goods broucht into the towne be the enemye notwithstanding the owners thereof be knowne: Therefore it is ordained that intimation sall be made threw the towne be towk [tuck] of drum, that all neighbours sall be repaired of the saidis enormities be them that hurt them either in taking of exorbitant pryces for drink or in taking of money at ane lower rate nor [than] the law provydes: And that all who have victualls or goods sall restore them to the owners if they know them; and if they know them not, that they keip them some weiks till they sie if the same be owned, under the pain of restoiring the double attour ane unlaw."

English troops continued to hover about in the county, and a fortnight after the above resolution was passed, Lieutenant Buntine attacked a troop of sixty horsemen near the town, and slew or took most of them prisoners. The

prisoners he carried to Stirling. Balfour,[1] who reports the incident, does not mention the exact spot where the affair took place. All he says is that it was "neire Pasley."

After his coronation at Scone, on January 1, 1651, Charles set himself to unite, if possible, the various contending parties in the Church and State. On June 2, he secured the repeal of the Act of Classes, which had hitherto excluded from the army and from official positions, all who had in any way offended the religious or political susceptibilities of the predominant party in the Church; and this being out of the way, the King now directed the whole of his endeavours to gather around him a large and devoted army for the purpose of overthrowing the English republicans.

The people of Paisley, though for the most part Remonstrants, sided with the King, and besides raising troops, contributed towards their maintenance, and towards the maintenance of the royal household. On June 16, the Bailies and Town Council unanimously resolved "that the towne's part of the present levye furthe of the shyre of Renfrew, being twa horse and nerehand half an horse, sall be outreiked with all diligence, and that for that effect sexe hundreth punds for the outreik and fourtie aucht merks for ane month's mentenance to the King's Majestie sall be presentlie imposed upon the burgesses and inhabitants of the towne." For similar purposes the inhabitants were again, on June 25, assessed in the sum of £943 2s. 6d. Scots; and again, on July 30, in the sum of £750 8s. Scots. On July 21, the town's proportion of "kye and scheip" was ordered to be sent to the royal army. At first these assessments appear to have been readily paid by the inhabitants; but in the month of June, they were felt to be burdensome, and Bailie Spreull was sent by the Council to Stirling, to obtain, if possible, some abatement of them. His mission was a failure, but for his diligence he received the thanks of the Town Council at its meeting on June 16.

[1] Annals, iv. 307.

Under date July 30, 1651, the following significant minute occurs in the Town Council Records: "Quhilk day there is ane list of twelve sodgours designed to go furth for the towne; and, notwithstanding ane bombadier is appointed to goe throw the towne presentlie [immediately] for all voluntiers to repair to the tolbuith this day at twa hours in the afternoon, when they are to receive their conditions."

At the same meeting the following resolution was also passed:—

"Quhilk day there is appointed to be imposed upon the inhabitants of the towne of Paisley the sowme of money for the causes after-specified, viz., that is paid to Mr. John Crooks the sowme of threttie-six punds money, being xxxs for ilk hundreth merks of valuation for the town's part of the outreik of thrie horse, and thrie punds to each souldier, General-Major Montgomerie's regiment. *Item,* fourteine punds viijs to Andro Sempill for eight days' mentenance for Prestoun's regiment. *Item,* fourscore punds for quarterings about the 28th of June to 34 of Prestoun's troupers and 48 of Generall-Major Montgomerie's troupers, ilk ane of them ane nicht. *Item,* seven punds money to transient quarters to thretteine of My Lord Montgomerie's regiment. *Item,* thriescore thretteine punds money for ane kou and xij sheipe for the towne's part of the second outreik of kye and sheipe to the armye. *Item,* aucht score punds money for the town's part of a trowp of horse to the second outreik to the armye, to be made on the first of August. *Item,* thriescore twelve punds money, as being assessment upon ilk hundreth merks of valuation of the paroche for armes, ane month's mentenance to the inferior officers, and for eight days' mentenance to the sodjours, and for tents and pans. And twa hundreth aucht punds for to outreik fourteine foote sodjours, extending in all to the sowme of seven hundreth fyvtie punds eight shillings. With twelve punds to ane collector to ingather the same. John Wallace is appointed collector."

On the same day that the above resolutions were passed by the Town Council, Charles set out from Torwood with his army for England, and the twelve "sodjours" and "voluntiers" from Paisley joined him on the way. Cromwell was

then at Perth, where he had gone to cut off the provisions of the royalist forces, after in vain trying to induce them to leave the strong position they had taken up in Torwood. After the signing of the capitulation of Perth, on August 2, he immediately set out in pursuit of them, and after catching up with Lambert and Harrison, who had been dispatched to attack the invading army on the flank, he came up with the royal forces at Worcester on the second of September, with the result that is well known.

Meantime General Monk, who had been left behind to reduce Stirling and its castle, distrusting the West, dispatched Colonel Okey with his regiment to keep watch over it. Okey set out on August 11, and marched to Glasgow, Paisley, and Irvine. Then, dividing his regiment, he sent them out in all directions, when they "so scoured the country that we may now march 100 horse from this place [Stirling] all over the west and south." At Paisley, a regiment was being raised for Colonel Cochrane. Okey made short work of the levies, and took some of the King's Commissioners prisoners, among whom was the Laird of Orbiston. He fined Glasgow, £900, Paisley, £150, and Lord Ross of Hawkhead, £50 stg.[1]

On September 20 and 21, scarcely three weeks after the battle of Worcester, a number of English troopers were quartered upon the town. The way in which the inhabitants

[1] Okey to the President of the Council.—Frith, Scotland and the Commonwealth, 316: cf. 5. "Aug. 17. The Lt. Generall and the forces continued in Sterling. Col. Okey came from the party of horse in the Westerne partes; he relates there was a regiment raising there for Col. Cockram, which the King had first given to Maior Generall Vanrosse [Vandruske], but afterwards, upon the King's coming into England, he gave it Cockram. They sate about it at Paiseley, whereof the Colonel having notice fell upon them, took one Laird Osbaston, Mr. Alexander Kinsmart, Sir Sigismund Alexander and one Mr. Hendson. Col. Cockram and the Laird Blantire was there with his troope the day before, but went from thence into the Highlands. Col. Okey alsoe apprehended 16 ministers [at Boghall] but upon a promise not to act against us they were released. Hee alsoe fined the toune of Glasgow 900*l*, Paisley 150*l*, and the Lord Rosse 50*l*."—Monk's Diary, Frith, 5.

dealt with them, or, rather, the way in which some of the inhabitants dealt with their neighbours in regard to them, is not a little instructive as to their religious professions. Some of them gave money to the troopers to go and quarter themselves on their neighbours; others of them urged them to help themselves to their neighbours' corn and to bring it into their houses for their horses; while others of them managed to escape the quartering altogether. Three days after the troopers were gone, the Town Council met and passed the following resolution:—"Quhilk day, the Baillies and Town Counsall taking into their consideration that upon the 20 and 21 September, when the Englishers were ordered to be quartered upon the towne, some caused their neighbours to be oppressed by giving money to those that were quartered on themselves to go upon their neighbours, and others moved the Englishers that were quartered upon them to bring in their neighbours' corn into their houses for their horses, and some were oversein in the quartering: Therefore they have ordained that all who have been oppressed or unjustlie hurt sall come to the Tolbuith to-morrow, the 25 of this instant, at fyve hours afternoon, and declaire and give up the same that rectification may be made as accords; And ordains this to be intimat the morne before noone be touk of drum."

But the worst was to come. Heavy as the assessments had been under Charles II., under Cromwell they were heavier. Besides the ordinary cess, the inhabitants of the town had to contribute their share to the maintenance of the troops quartered in the shire. In the beginning of the year 1652, a garrison, under Captain Robeson, was planted in the town, the cost of which fell upon the inhabitants. While out in the parish of Cathcart with his troopers, one of Captain Robeson's cornets met with some losses at the hands of the people there, and Paisley had to pay its share of the fine inflicted upon the county for the cornet's losses, besides meeting the demands which were constantly being made upon it for posts, guides, and horses. Bailie Spreull was again called in and dispatched to the major-general commanding the district to plead for some abatement of the burdens, but

with as little success as before. One demand the Town Council, in their exasperation, refused. Captain Robeson preferred to live out at Castle Semple, and sent a letter to the Town Council ordering three feather beds to be sent out to him. The Town Council refused, and, happily for its members, the captain did not insist.[1]

All this, as will readily be supposed, did not soothe the feelings with which the English soldiers were regarded by the people, to whom their very presence was hateful. It became dangerous for any of Cromwell's men to go out into the country or to be in unfrequented places alone. Whenever opportunity offered, they were assaulted, robbed, and even murdered.[2] The people began to collect arms secretly, and a rumour spread that many were concealed in the churches. In December, 1652, a quantity of arms and ammunition was accidentally discovered at Houston Castle by one of the soldiers quartered there. This was reported to Major Richardson, of Colonel Overton's regiment, who had succeeded Captain Robeson at Paisley. The magistrates and ministers of the town were at once called together, and asked if they knew of any arms concealed in the church. They denied all knowledge of any. They were then marched down to the Abbey Church, and a part of one of the walls of the church being found newly built, they were asked if anything was hidden there. They again denied all knowledge. The soldiers broke down the wall, and hidden within it, were discovered 153 muskets, 63 pikes, 120 bandoliers, 313 swords, bundles of match and a quantity of powder.[3]

After this, the oppression by the English soldiery became heavier. On August 10, 1653, Captain Greene, who in the meantime appears to have succeeded Major Richardson, unexpectedly appeared in the Abbey Church, where the

[1] Town Council Records, September 25; October 7, 1651; February 13; June 4, 1652.

[2] Carlyle, Proclamation, Letter cli. Spottiswoode Miscellany (Diurnal of Occurrents), ii. 98.

[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, 98.

Presbytery were sitting, and treated them as Colonel Cotteril had recently treated the General Assembly, though somewhat differently. He violently interrupted their sitting, carried them all out to a house in the town, detained them as prisoners, alleging that they had no power to sit, and then dismissed them. On September 1, they ventured to sit again, when Greene again appeared among them, announced that he was come to sit with them, and exhibited a warrant from Colonel Lilburne for that purpose. According to their minutes, the Presbytery "did declare their great dissatisfaction therewith and that with their consent he should not sit with them." "Whereupon," it is added, "he did forbear for the time." Probably he did not care two straws for "their great dissatisfaction."[1] Lilburne's warrant made him master of the situation. Whether he took away the stool of repentance as had been done in other places, and whether he compelled the ministers of the town to listen to his own prelections from the pulpit of the Abbey Church, or to the equally edifying prelections of some of his companions in arms, there is no record.

In the town, notwithstanding the stern rule of the Puritan soldiery, things were in great confusion. Men could not be got to serve as Town Councillors or as Magistrates; the elections were postponed, and the administration of justice in civil cases was stopped. Appeals were made to the Major General in command of the district, and to the judges appointed by Cromwell in Edinburgh, but nothing came of them. In January, 1655, another appeal was made. One of the bailies was dead, and the other was apparently on the point of death. On January 4, John Wallace, notary, was appointed to go to General Monk and "supplicate him for liberty to choose their own magistrates and to administer justice and to do others of their town's affairs." This time the appeal was successful. The Council met on the 22nd of the month, and elected George Spreull to be one of the bailies. Three days later, they "ratified all the Acts made

[1] Presbytery Records, MS.

or ratified in the Head Court of date October 11, 1649, and ordained the same to be publicly read." On the death of Bailie Vaus, with the permission of Monk, they elected, on May 7, John Kelso to take his place. This was done in the presence of Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollok, on whose advice the permission to elect had been granted.[1] Shortly after, the garrison was withdrawn, and one morning in June, 1660, the market place resounded with the cheers of the people on hearing a proclamation read at the Cross that the day of the English Sectaries was gone, and that Charles II. reigned as King.

[1] Town Council Records.



CHAPTER XXII.

CURATES AND CONVENTICLES.

CHARLES II. had scarcely taken his seat upon the throne to which he had been invited, when the joy with which the news of his accession had been received, was in a large section of the population effectually quenched. His promise "to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law" was broken. Argyll, who had placed the crown upon his head at Scone, was executed, a subservient Parliament, at the instance of the Drunken Administration, passed the Act Rescissory, Episcopacy was re-established, and three hundred and fifty ministers who refused to seek institution from the bishops to the benefices to which they had been appointed during the Presbyterian period, were "outed."

Among those who were outed were the two ministers of Paisley. Mr. Henry Calvert, who achieved so great a victory over the good-wife of Ferguslie, had gone to his rest, and had been succeeded in the First Charge by his colleague, Mr. Dunlop, and the Second Charge had been filled by the appointment of Mr. James Stirling, one of the authors of Naphtali. For some time conventicles appear to have been held in the neighbourhood, to which the people resorted, leaving the Abbey Church vacant. But such meetings were soon prohibited, and heavy fines were inflicted upon those who attended them or refused to attend their own parish churches.

Upon the members of the Presbytery the hand of the Government was heavy. They who had formerly been a terror to all offenders, sparing neither high nor low, but prosecuting all who refused to sign the Covenants, or were of a different faith from their own, now became offenders

themselves. Of the sixteen members, only two—Mr. Taylor of Greenock, and Mr. John Hamilton of Inverkip—conformed. The rest were faithful to their convictions, and suffered many hardships. Writing of the "outed" ministers generally, Wodrow says: "They were not only deprived of their livings in time to come, but of their last year's stipend, for which they had served; and in the winter season [November, 1662] were obliged, with sorrowful hearts and empty pockets, to wander, I know not how many miles, with their numerous and small families."[1]

Mr. Alexander Dunlop's case was particularly hard. After being "silenced from preaching," on January 6, 1662, he was summoned before the Council for refusing to take the oaths prescribed, and ordained "to be banished forth of His Majesty's dominions, the Lords reserving to themselves to fix the time of his removal." In the meantime, they ordered him to confine himself within the dioceses of Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, and Dunkeld, and allowed him ten days in which to go home and order his business and affairs. His sentence would have been heavier, but, fortunately, Sir Robert Cunningham, the King's physician, intervened. The Lords proposed to send him with seven others to Holland; but Sir Robert "told the Chancellor that they might as well execute him on the scaffold as send him to the sea, for he could not be twenty-four or forty-eight hours upon the sea, but it would be his death, for by his extraordinary study and labour in Paisley he had brought his strong body so low, that he could not live upon the sea for a very short time." He appears to have retired to Culross. After the hopes of the Covenanters had been disappointed at Rullion Green, he died, it is said, of a broken heart, at Borrowstowness, in 1667. His colleague went to the East Indies, and in 1671 or 1672 died at Bombay from the effects of a fall from his horse.

The simultaneous refusal of so many of the ministers to take institution from the bishops, as required by the Act of

[1] Analecta, iv. 19.

June 12, 1662, and the emptying of so many pulpits at one and the same time, took the bishops and the Drunken Administration by surprise.[1] Totally unprovided with men to fill the vacated charges, "a sort of an invitation was sent over the kingdom, like a hue and cry, to all persons to accept of benefices in the west,"[2] where most of the outed ministers had held office. "The livings," Burnet adds, "were generally well endowed, and the parsonages were well built and in good repair; and this drew many very worthless persons thither, who had little learning, less piety, and no sort of discretion."

It may be doubted, however, whether, with one or two exceptions, those of the curates who officiated within the bounds of the Presbytery of Paisley were other than educated and respectable men. The prefix "Mr." to their names, if it retained its old significance, shows that they had all graduated at one or other of the universities. The laureation of one or two is mentioned in the Records, and before their admission to any charge, each of them had to give proof of a certain proficiency in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.[3]

A Presbytery was established at Paisley on Thursday, October 29, 1663, by virtue of an order of the archbishop and Synod to the curates, "to act as a Presbytery in all matters that concern the discipline of the Church, and particularly to do all things incumbent to them for planting of vacant churches."[4] The ministers or curates who met

[1] "The Earl of Middleton was surprised at this extraordinary submission of the Presbyterians; he had fancied that the greatest part would have complied, and that some of the more intractable would have done some extraordinary thing to have justified the severities he would have exercised in that case, and was disappointed both ways."—Burnet, Own Times, I., Pt. i. 270 (Airy's Ed.). The proclamation putting the law into execution was issued from Glasgow. "Duke Hamilton told me," Burnet writes in reference to the proclamation, "they [*i.e.*, Middleton and the rest of the Privy Council present] were all so drunk that day, that they were not capable of considering anything that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but the executing the law without any relenting or delay."—Own Times, I., Pt. i. 269.

[2] Burnet, Own Times, I., Pt. i. 271.

[3] Presbytery Records, MS.

[4] Presbytery Records, MS.

and constituted the Presbytery were Mr. William Pierson of Paisley, Mr. John Hay of Renfrew, Mr. James Taylor of Greenock, Mr. Andrew Abercrombie of Kilmacolm, and Mr. Alexander Kinnear of Neilston. Associated with them, as correspondents, were Mr. John Hay and Mr. William Fowles from the Presbytery of Glasgow; and Mr. William Stirling and Mr. John Stewart from the Presbytery of Dumbarton. Mr. John Hay of Renfrew was appointed moderator, and Mr. Kinnear of Neilston was appointed clerk. From the above, it would appear that, of the sixteen charges within the Presbytery, only about one-third were provided, for, even if we include Mr. Hamilton, who was settled at Inverkip, the charges supplied amount only to six. Candidates for the ministry were scarce, and removals, translations, or "transportations" to other benefices were frequent.

Mr. Kinnear's minutes bring us into an order of things quite different from what we have hitherto noticed in the doings of the Presbytery. There were plenty of prosecutions or persecutions going on at the time, but very few of them are allowed to appear in the Presbytery Records. Most of them were managed by the bishops and the Privy Council, much, there can be little doubt, to the satisfaction of the curates, who were thus relieved from an invidious duty, and one in which they had probably no desire to take part. Taking the Records as our guide, the curates seem to have been occupied chiefly in visiting the various parishes, providing ministers and schoolmasters, searching for papists, schismatics, and conventicles, inquiring into each other's conduct, and making complaints respecting the difficulties they met with in the discharge of ther duties.

One of the most frequent of their complaints, was the difficulty they experienced in procuring men to act as elders. In December, 1664, Mr. Young, curate of Erskine, reported that "several honest men had condescended to assist him," and one or two others reported that they had "got sessions established;" but most of the sessions were exceedingly attenuated, and, as a rule, an invitation from a curate to

become an elder was declined. Those who declined were frequently cited before the Presbytery, and the reasons they gave for not accepting the office were sometimes curious. On October 27, 1664, Robert Semple, when questioned by the Presbytery, before whom he had been cited, why he declined to act on the Kirk Session of Kilbarchan, gave as his reason that "he was unfit for the office, because of his being overtaken twice with the drink of late." The Presbytery, not being at all satisfied with his excuse, ordained him "to make his repentance for his drunkeness two several Lord's days, and to pay forty shillings in penalties." Robert Pollok, compearing before the court at Paisley, on February 19, 1665, gave as his reason for refusing to act as an elder in Renfrew, that "he had made a vow long ago that he would never be an elder." The Presbytery, we are told, found the reason "irrevelant," holding "a rash and unlawful oath not obligatory," and therefore ordained him to accept the office, and "appointed the minister to give up his name in order to his being brought before the High Commission in case of his refusal." On April 5, 1666, the elders of Renfrew were all summoned before the High Commission; but at the meeting of the Presbytery on May 3, they are reported as having given satisfaction. As late as May 25, 1668, the curate of Greenock reported that there were still some persons in his parish who refused "to join with him in the exercise of discipline." The Presbytery, however, instead of citing them before them or ordering them to be sent up to the High Commission, directed the curate "to use his prudentialls and see if by fair means he can gain their concurrence, the magistrates at present being very slow and unwilling to exercise their compulsory power against such accusants who refuse to embrace the office of an elder."

But the chief complaint of the curates was the want of congregations. By the people they were, as a rule, boycotted. Those who had hitherto attended the services in the parish churches, either attended the conventicles to hear the discourses of the "outed" ministers, or remained at home and refused to attend their parish churches so long as the curates

were there. In August, 1669, some of the brethren reported to the Presbytery that "the people did wholly desert the ordinances and not convene at the place of public worship on the Lord's day;" and on November 3 following, the brethren were exhorted "to give diligent attendance" in their respective charges notwithstanding their paucity of hearers. At Killallan, on May 13, 1670, "Mr. George Birnie being enquired of his diligence in preaching and other duties of his calling, declared that the ordinances were generally dishaunted [neglected] by his people since September last, and that none brought children to be baptised by him since; that the people did not attend diets of examination, and that the session had deserted him, refusing to assist him in the exercise of discipline, and the reason of which disregard of the ordinances he declared to be because Mr. Alexander Fleming, the Laird of Barrochan, did entertain Mr. James Wallace, the minister of Mearns, who constantly preached at Barrochan, before that time the people being orderly." The following year, the minister at Houston declared his "kirk to be very ill kept [*i.e.*, very badly attended], and baptism to be withdrawn" [*i.e.*, not applied for], and that he could not "well visit families in regard they absent themselves."

From time to time the curates, when assembled in Presbytery, had to interrogate each other as to whether they had observed all the ordinances enjoined upon them by the Act of Uniformity. When the interrogation was made, on August 20, 1681, the moderator answered that he had observed them all except in making ready for communion, wherein he was greatly hindered, he said, by the preparation that Master Symson, his predecessor, was making among his people for the great communion at Paisley, and Master John Houston answered that he too had observed them all, "excepting the giving of the communion, which he is never in hopes to give through the multitude of indulged ministers that are about him, who have drained his church totally of hearers, let be communicants." On April 9, 1684, the minister at Kilmacolm gave in the names of eight of his

parishioners "for keeping up their children from baptism, some for the space of four months and some eight."

The position of the curates was not enviable. By the people over whom they were placed, both they and their ministrations were treated with disdain. Only in one thing were the people amenable to them, and that was in the case of marriage. Marriage was legal only when performed by the curates and indulged ministers, and, unless an indulged minister chanced to be at hand, they were obliged to accept the curate's services.

As may easily be imagined, the curates were out of all touch with the people, and knew little or nothing of what was going on in their several parishes. The people screened each other, and discipline was rarely administered. When any flagrant fault came to light, and the culprits were threatened with discipline, they were aided and abetted by their neighbours, and often made their escape to Ireland, there to wait the turn of events. The curates might search for conventicles, but, until 1674, all that they could report to the Presbytery or the Synod, in response to the frequent appeals of the archbishop, was that there were "rumours of conventicles," but where any of them were held, they could not tell. So far as the evidence of the Records of the Presbytery goes, during all the years the curates were in power, not a single conventicle in Paisley or its immediate neighbourhood was at any time denounced.

Even the Catholics appear to have found shelter beneath the hatred the people entertained towards the curates and the system they represented. The only Catholics the curates dealt with were Lord Semple and several members of his family. In the Records, his Lordship's name occurs frequently, but he always managed to avoid appearing before the Presbytery. After going on for nearly four years, his case—so far, at least, as the Presbytery was concerned—was abruptly terminated by the archbishop directing them to cease treating with him for conference, for the reason that "His Majesty's Honourable Privy Council did look upon him as excommunicated." This was on April 23, 1668. As

a matter of fact, Lord Semple had been reported to the archbishop as excommunicated as far back as July 7, 1664. For close on four years, therefore, they were in absolute ignorance of a fact which must have been notorious in the parish of Lochwinnoch; but this is little to be wondered at when we find them reporting, in several cases, that at their visitation they were unable to find out where the minister's glebe was, so severely were they isolated, and so severely, in many instances, did the people hold aloof from them.

But, amid all their difficulties, it must be frankly admitted that, with two exceptions, the curates in the Presbytery of Paisley tried to do their duty. Two of their number were deposed. As for the others, they did their best to fill up the vacant charges and to obtain a sufficient supply of schoolmasters. They set their faces against penny-weddings and dancing-greens as resolutely as their Presbyterian predecessors did, and in denouncing the use of the ferries across the Clyde on Sundays they went a step beyond them. In visiting the various parishes, they were punctual and careful.[1] If, after visiting the parish of Renfrew on July 15, 1666, they made the, to modern ears, somewhat startling report that "the manse has no brewhouse," etc., "without which it cannot be accounted a sufficient and commodious habitation to the minister," it has to be remembered that at the time ale or beer was the national drink, and supplied the place of many beverages which have been since introduced or invented, not always to the physical, social, or moral advantage of the country. If the curates failed—and they certainly did—to win the affections of the people, the fault was not so much theirs as that of the system they represented.

In Paisley, the first of the curates was Mr. William Pierson. Very little is known about him. On December 29, 1644, he applied to the Presbytery for an assistant or colleague, and was directed "to speak to my Lord Cochrane, the patron, and others who have most interest there," to provide him with an assistant with all convenient diligence. But nothing

[1] See History of the County of Renfrew, p. 291 and notes.

came of his application, and on February 6, 1666, he was translated to the parish of Dunfermline, where he was succeeded, perhaps after his death, by Mr. Alexander Dunbar, October 19, 1676.

In Paisley, he was succeeded, on October 15, 1667, by Mr. James Chambers, who filled the charge at the time when the First Indulgence was granted. A sum of money was offered to him by the town to demit his charge, in order that the people might get a minister more to their mind. He accepted two hundred merks, resigned his charge, and went his way.

His successor, Mr. Mathew Ramsay, had once been minister at Kilpatrick, but had been deposed in 1665 for nonconformity. Ramsay entered upon his charge in Paisley with the approval of the Town Council and Lord Dundonald, and with the consent of the Privy Council. In Paisley he was much esteemed. Wodrow describes him as a "person of the most shining piety, staid gravity, of the greatest eminence of gifts, extraordinary sweetness of temper, and of a most peaceable behaviour." "He was also very free," he says, "in reproving the sins of great men and rulers; and he did it," he continues, "in such a manner as they could be no means win at him, for he always brought in most suitable and pertinent Scriptures for confirming all that he said about the sins of the times." He appears to have been in delicate health, and on November 16, 1669, Mr. Baird was appointed assistant to him by the Privy Council. Baird also had been deposed, and was one of the forty-two ministers who, on June 7, 1669, were indulged.[1]

It was during the incumbency of these two men that the saintly Leighton, then archbishop of Glasgow, visited Paisley for the purpose of bringing about, if possible, a reconciliation between the indulged and nonconforming ministers on the one hand, and the Government on the other. Burnet,[2] who accompanied Leighton, gives an account of the archbishop's aims and arguments, and in Wodrow[3] we have a description

[1] History, i. 427. [2] Own Times, I., i. 527-8. [3] History, ii. 203, ff.

of his visit to Paisley. But argument with Ramsay and Baird and their party was useless, and the archbishop withdrew from the town with a sad heart. After one or two more ineffectual attempts at a reconciliation, he gave up the task, hopeless of the state of affairs, and retired into private life. Ramsay and Baird, doubtless, deserve to be honoured for their unflinching adherence to the principles or opinions they had adopted, but the archbishop deserves to be honoured not less. In a time of bitter controversy and great fierceness about opinions, he attempted to mediate in the interests of charity and peace.

After the failure of these attempts at conciliation, stricter measures were adopted by the Government against those who opposed its ecclesiastical policy. Mr. Ramsay died in May, 1671, and was succeeded by Mr. Baird. who had for his colleague, Mr. William Eccles, also an indulged minister. Baird's strong Covenanting proclivities soon brought him into collision with the Government. Refusing to observe the anniversary of the King's restoration, he was summoned before the Privy Council, and on June 8, 1673, fined one-half of his stipend for the year and crop. On March 5, 1684, the seat of the Presbytery was shifted back to Paisley from Renfrew, where it had been since about July 26, 1676. The return of the Presbytery to Paisley was not auspicious. A disturbance arose among the people outside, in consequence of which the preliminary exercises for the day were omitted. The following day, though not on account of the disturbance, Mr. Baird was again summoned before the Privy Council, and on April 11, was "deprived from the exercise of the ministry in all time coming." As his wife was sick, he was given until May 1 "to live regularly," otherwise he was to "undertake banishment," and he and his family were to remove out of the kingdom. Eccles, the minister of the second charge, had already been deposed. His fault was the same as his colleague's, breaking the indulgence accorded to him.

Mr. Baird had for his successor, Mr. Fullarton, and Mr. Eccles, Mr. James Taylor. Fullarton was an Episcopalian.

Taylor had been minister of Mearns. Soon after his settlement in Paisley, Mr. Taylor proposed to take in four acres of land in Commonside, alleging that it was glebe land, and had belonged to the former minister. The Town Council took up a determined attitude against him, and Mr. Taylor had to do without a glebe.

In the meantime, other things had been happening in the town, most of which were more or less connected with the ecclesiastical condition either of the town or of the country.

On October 13, 1663, Sir Robert Fleming was ordered by the Privy Council to march with all convenient speed to the West, to take with him two squadrons of His Majesty's Life Guards, and to quarter one of them in Kilmarnock, and the other in Paisley. According to Wodrow, these squadrons were "abundantly active" in exacting fines from those who were absent from their parish churches, but adduces no evidence in support of his statement.[1]

Two years later, in November, 1665, Lord Rothes, who had succeeded Middleton as the King's Commissioner in Scotland, when making a progress through the west, called at Paisley. He and his numerous following were entertained in the Place of Paisley by Lord Cochrane. The magistrates treated the Royal Commissioner to the "courtesy of the town," and made him and his company, burgesses. In the following month, a number of soldiers were stationed in the town and its neighbourhood for the purpose of preventing conventicles and of overawing the Covenanters.[2]

In May, 1667, twenty-four of Lord Carnegie's troopers were billeted upon the inhabitants. The town at this time had to provide its share of corn and straw for the Life Guards quartered in the county, to equip a trooper, and to bear its part in the expense requisite for the maintenance of the militia. The military headquarters for the district were at Glasgow, and in the belief that the West was on the point of rising in arms against it, the Government was

[1] Hist., i. 373.

[2] Town Council Records, MS.

making whatever preparations it could to meet and suppress the expected rebellion.

On February 2, 1678, the Highland Host, which owed its existence to a false report circulated by the Earl of Nithsdale,[1] began its march from Glasgow westward, and five days later, was scattered all over Renfrew, Cunningham, and Kyle, doing its work of devastation. On the 25th of the month, the Lieutenant-Colonel of Atholl's regiment, and the Master of Ross, a lieutenant in the Guards, were in Paisley. They were left to Bailie Greenlees, who entertained them along with other officers, at the expense of the town. To the rank and file he gave "diverse barrells of ale," and £85 5s. 1d. Scots, to the quartermaster and officers "to put the regiment by from quartering thirtie days." The following day, February 26, the same bailie entertained the Marquess of Atholl, the Earl of Perth, and other gentlemen and their followers. The two entertainments cost the town £158 3s. Scots.[2] The money was well spent, and appears to have saved the inhabitants from the tender mercies of the rank and file of the Highland Host.

In May, 1683, the Magistrates and Town Council received a summons to appear before the Lords of Justiciary in Glasgow, on the 12th and 13th days of the following month, to answer the serious charge of resetting Hugh Fulton, James Sprewl, and Christopher Strang. Sprewl belonged to Uplaw, in the parish of Neilston; Strang was an apothecary, carrying on business in Paisley; of Fulton nothing seems to be known beyond what appears in the summons. The Town Council resolved to throw the expense of the defence on the town's funds; and knowing the ways of the courts of justice of the times, they further resolved to send William Fyfe and the Town Clerk into Glasgow, before the day fixed for the trial, to "make moyan"[3] with the bishop to be the town's friend, and to pay their expenses and any disbursements they might have to make. Fyfe and the

[1] Com. Hist. MSS., XV., viii. 230; Hamilton MSS., 156-8.

[2] Town Council Records, MS.

[3] Fr. moyen, means.

Town Clerk were furnished in all with £200 Scots, and "four guineas of gold," and spent part of these sums in making "moyan," in other words, in bribing the archbishop and the clerk of the court. No more is heard of the matter in the Town's Records. It would appear, therefore, that the archbishop and the clerk of the court had become the town's friends, and had contrived to get the charge departed from.

In the same year, Mr. Ezekiel Montgomery, the Sheriff-Depute for the county, an energetic agent of the Crown and a thorough scoundrel, fell under the suspicion of the Government. The year before (1682), the Magistrates of Paisley had issued a warrant for his apprehension. They had asked him to produce the letters of horning and poinding under which he had "poinded Baillie Maxwell," and in reply he had insolently called them "ane pack of beasts and simples." This and other of his misdeeds appear to have been reported to the higher authorities; investigations were made, and on February 11, 1684, he was suddenly arrested and imprisoned. The Privy Council resolved to proceed against him on twenty-four charges of malversation, oppression, and extortion at the Circuit Court, and ordained him to find caution for his appearance, under a penalty of £1000 sterling. Unable to find sureties, he was sent to prison. Two years afterwards, he was set free on condition of informing against heritors who had been engaged in the recent rebellions; but, instead of fulfilling the condition, he fled to Ireland, where he became a preacher, and did not venture to return to Scotland till after the Revolution.

On the morning of Tuesday, June 10 in this year (1684), a distinguished wedding party appeared in the Abbey Church, about which a good deal of romance has been written, but the simple facts of which are these. The bride was Lady Jane Cochrane, and the bridegroom Colonel John Graham of Claverhouse. Claverhouse had ridden down from Edinburgh to Paisley on the previous Saturday, through a perfectly tranquil country. At Glasgow he had left word where he might be found. On Monday, the marriage contract was signed, and now the party were met to assist at the wedding.

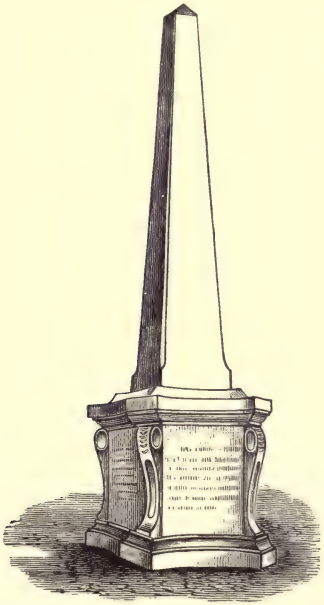
Among those present, besides the old Earl of Dundonald, the bride's father, were Lord Montgomery, Lord Ross, the lieutenant of Claverhouse above referred to, and John and William Cochrane of Ochiltree, sons of the fugitive Sir John. The bride's mother, whose sympathies were entirely with the Covenanters, was not present. The officiating minister was one of the curates of Paisley. But the same day, either before or after the marriage, though the probability is early in the morning, a summons came to Lord Ross—some say to Claverhouse — ordering him to take his troopers and proceed at once in pursuit of a conventicle which had been discovered on the Sunday previous at Black Loch, near Slamannan. Ross rode off at once. Three weeks before, Claverhouse had written that it was "not in the power of love nor any other folly to alter his loyalty,"[1] and scarcely taking time to bid his bride adieu, he put himself at the head of his troopers, and all that night and the next day he rode over muir and morass on a bootless errand. He returned to Paisley on the 12th.

The following year, February 3, 1685, a scene of a quite different kind was enacted in the town. Two countrymen were brought before the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Ross, the Laird of Orbiston, and John Shaw, at Paisley. They were asked whether they would take the abjuration oath and the Test. Their reply was that they would take no oath, even to save their lives. Whereupon they were condemned to death; and at two o'clock the same afternoon, they were hanged at the Cross of Paisley, the soldiers sounding their trumpets and beating their drums, in order to drown their voices as they consoled themselves in their last moments by singing some of the psalms of David. The names of the two men were James Algie and John Park. They were joint tenants of some land at Kennishead, in the parish of Eastwood. Algie was a conformist, and had been in the habit of attending Episcopalian services, but under the influence of

[1] Claverhouse to Queensberry, May 19, 1684.—Com. Hist. MSS., XV., viii. 289; Terry, Life of Claverhouse, 161 ff.

Park had ceased to do so. The two were charged with disowning the King's authority, and with defending the Declaration of the Societies. After their execution, their bodies were interred in the common burying-ground at the Gallow-green. They have since been removed to the Woodside Cemetery, where a monument has been erected in commemoration of their death.

Executions of a similar kind happened in other parts of the country. The spirit of the people seemed as if it were broken, and for three more years the country had to endure the tyrannical yoke of James VII. But at last, on November 5, 1688, William of Orange landed at Torbay, and all was changed. The bonds of the oppressor were broken; the curates were rabbled; they and their prayer-books disappeared, and Presbyterianism was once more triumphant. Mr. Fullarton found refuge with Lord Dundonald in the Place of Paisley, where for a time he served as domestic chaplain. Subsequently he rose to dignity among the non-jurors, being made bishop of Edinburgh. He died at Greenhill in Glendorinch in 1727. What became of his colleague is unknown.



CHAPTER XXIII.

WITCHCRAFT.

In Scotland, the crusade against witchcraft did not begin till the reign of Queen Mary, when an Act was passed by the Scottish Parliament in 1563, threatening the penalty of death against any who should "take on hand in any time hereafter to use any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, or necromancy." The Act was no sooner passed than it began to be enforced. The Church, however, notwithstanding that the Act had been much desired by Knox, hesitated at first to take any part in its administration.[1] Towards the close of the year in which the Act was passed, four women were delated for witchcraft by the Superintendent of Fife. Their case found its way to the Assembly, but it was there modestly disposed of by a resolution which desired that the Privy Council be requested to take order concerning it.[2] In 1569, a notable sorcerer, named Nic Neville, was condemned to death, and burnt at St. Andrews, and on August 19 of that year, William Stewart, Lyon King of Arms, was hanged in the same place "for divers points of witchcraft and necromancy." Still in the same year, according to the Diurnal of Occurrents, "in my Lord Regent's passing to the north, he causit burn certain witches in Sanctandrois, and in returning he causit burn ane other company of witches in Dundee." After this the executions became frequent, and the number of witches grew apace.

The Presbytery of Paisley was rather late in beginning to deal with them—or, rather, witches were somewhat late in

[1] Burton, Hist. of Scot., iv. 72. Knox, like Luther and Calvin, had a profound belief in the reality of witchcraft and was singularly superstitious.

[2] Burton, iv. 320.

making their appearance in any number within its bounds. Processes for witchcraft were set up in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy as early as 1632.[1] By the year 1645, the parish of Dunfermline had become so completely overrun by these agents of the Evil One that it had to be divided into districts, and elders and others appointed to keep watch and ward over them.[2]

The first mention of witchcraft in the Paisley Presbytery Records occurs in a libel, laid on May 17, 1664, against Mr. John Hamilton, minister at Inverkip, wherein he is accused of taking a bribe of fifty merks upon condition that he would secure a woman apprehended for the crime against harm. Hamilton was deposed, and the woman died in prison. On February 23rd, 1670, the Presbytery resolved to take the advice of the Synod with regard to "what course is fittest to be taken with those who go under the name of witches." Twenty months later, on November 22, 1671, Mr. William Cameron, curate of Greenock, gave in to the Presbytery "a certain gross presumption of witchcraft against Janet Lyon," who was presumably one of his own parishioners. The Presbytery remitted the matter to the sheriff or his depute. Inverkip and Greenock appear at this time to have been particularly infested by witches, and the Presbytery again applied to the Synod for instructions. In response, they were directed to make their reports to the bishop, in order that the cases might be referred by him to the Privy Council. Their reports were not numerous. On June 19, 1672, Mr. Cameron reported two fresh cases in Greenock; but nothing more is then heard of witchcraft or sorcery, at least in the records of the Presbytery, until February 23, 1676, when Mr. Leslie, curate at Inverkip, delated one John Macgregor as a charmer in Greenock. The charge brought against him was that of restoring a young woman, named Agnes Christwell, suddenly to her speech, "whereof there is a *fama clamosa* in the country." At a subsequent meeting

[1] Stevenson, Presbyterie Bk. of Kirkcaldy, 69.

[2] Henderson, Extracts from the K.-Session Recs. of Dunfermline, 15.

of the Presbytery, Macgregor denied having ever cured Agnes in any manner of way, and the case was remitted to the session at Greenock to examine witnesses and to report. When examined before the session, Macgregor confessed that when Margaret Wilson was totally deprived of speech, he had hung a bead about her neck, and that afterwards she suddenly received her speech. The Presbytery, on hearing the report, ordered him, on August 15, 1677, to be publicly forbidden from the pulpit to practise any cures, under pain of being denounced to the civil magistrates as a charmer. On the whole, the curates of the Presbytery of Paisley have the appearance of being somewhat slack in dealing with the superstition. Perhaps they were more anxious to repress conventicles and to induce the people to accept their ministrations than to listen to old wives' fables. Their treatment of Macgregor, the Greenock charmer, would seem to argue that they had more sense than to believe that any such thing as witchcraft is possible. At any rate, they deserve credit for not condemning him either to the gibbet or the stake.

As soon as Presbyterianism was once more triumphant in the country, the number of witches that began to be discovered is remarkable. For some years nothing is heard of them in the Paisley Records. The first of the Presbyterian ministers to succeed the curates in the town of Paisley was Mr. Anthony Murray, an "old minister" of good family, and one who had occupied a leading position among the Covenanters.[1] He came to Paisley in April, 1688, and was succeeded, on August 22, 1690, by Mr. William Leggat from Ireland. Mr. Leggat returned to Ireland in 1691, and for

[1] He was a relation of the Duchess of Lauderdale, and in 1677 had been desired by the Presbyterian ministers to intercede on their behalf with the Duke, who was then Secretary of State. When he pressed for the release of the ministers who were imprisoned on the Bass Rock and elsewhere, Lauderdale replied that he would grant no favour to that party, being unworthy of any.—Wodrow, ii. 349. In 1684, Murray was himself imprisoned, and was allowed to visit his brother, who was then dying, only on condition that he signed a bond to re-enter the prison within a stated time, under a penalty of 5000 merks.—*Ib.*, iv. 39.

nearly three years the town was without a minister. At length the parishioners called Mr. Thomas Blackwell, who, after many delays, was inducted to the charge on August 28, 1694, becoming bound on his entrance to concur in a call to a second minister, no second minister having as yet been secured, though several attempts had been made to obtain one.

Mr. Blackwell was an able man, and had a great reputation for learning. In Paisley he acquired a reputation less creditable. Here he distinguished himself as a great witchfinder. It was during his ministry in Paisley that witches increased and multiplied within the bounds of the Presbytery amazingly. He may almost be said to have created them, for no sooner had he left the district than they at once ceased to trouble or appear.

One of the earliest cases the Presbytery took in hand, after they had got most of the parishes supplied, was that against a charmer at Inverkip, who was accused, among other things, of having "taught John Hunter how to make his neighbour's corn go back by sowing sour milk among it on Beltane day." For curing convulsive fits he was reported to have given the following prescription: Take pairings from the nails of the persons subject to the fits, some hairs from his eyebrows and others from the crown of his head; wrap them up in a clout with a halfpenny, and then deposit the parcel in a certain place: when found, the fits will at once leave the individual suffering and be transferred to the finder of the parcel. For the curing of John Hunter's beast of the "sturdy," so the indictment runs, he had taught Hunter to cut off a stirk's head, to boil it, burn the bones to ashes, and then bury the ashes, which, he said, would be effectual to cure the beast. He also offered, it is said, "for a 14,"[1] to teach a man how to get a part of his neighbour's fishing and his own too. With this impostor the Presbytery dealt summarily and wisely. He was ordered to be rebuked before the congregation of his

[1] A fourteen-shilling piece. See Cochran-Patrick, Coinage of Scotland, ii. 252.

parish, and declared "a scandalous person." This was on November 14, 1695.

Three months later, a couple of reports were made to the Presbytery, which appeared to the brethren to be of a far more serious character, and filled them with alarm. On February 5, 1696, Mr. Brisbane, minister at Kilmacolm, reported that several persons had been delated to his session by a confessing witch for witchcraft, and that upon the person of one of them an insensible mark had been found. This discovery was regarded as a sure sign of her intimacy with the Evil One. At the same meeting, Mr. Turner reported that "a woman of bad fame" in the parish of Inchinnan had used threatening language towards her son, and that thereafter the house had fallen and killed him. Messrs. Brisbane and Turner were, therefore, directed to take precognitions of these "maleficies" in their respective parishes, preliminary to an application being made to the sheriff. When the Presbytery met, thirteen days later, Mr. Brisbane reported that, when examined, several witnesses had declared that Janet Wodrow's "threats had been followed by bad effects," and that Janet was now in Greenock, having been arrested there as a fugitive from the session. At this meeting, serious developments were expected, and the sheriff-depute had been asked to attend it. The case was laid before him, and the Presbytery, led by Mr. Blackwell, "did earnestly desire that he would take Janet into custody and apply to the Lords of the Privy Council for a commission to put her and others suspected in the bounds for trial." The sheriff-depute, who appears to have been no wiser than the ministers, promised to commit her, but suggested that the Presbytery should make a joint application with him for a commission, "which would make it more easy to be procured." Accordingly, Mr. Thomas Blackwell and Mr. David Brown, the minister at Neilston, were dispatched to Edinburgh, where they appear to have had no difficulty in obtaining the desired commission. But on April 29, when the terms of the commission were read and examined, it was found that it was only for the trial of Janet Wodrow, who

in the meantime had become a confessant and had delated others, and that, as the case against Jean Fulton, "the woman of bad fame" in Inchinnan, had been inquired into and was fully matured, the scope of the commission would require to be extended so as to include both her and others in Kilmacolm, Inverkip, and Inchinnan who were now under suspicion. For this new commission Mr. Stirling and Mr. Brisbane were sent to Edinburgh, and, on May 13, it was reported to the Presbytery that they had "obtained, extracted, and brought west ane ample commission to the sheriff-depute and several gentlemen within the bounds for putting all delated for or suspected of witchcraft to a tryal."

The Presbytery now braced themselves up to wrestle strenuously with the Wicked One and his agents. Some delay took place in fixing the date of the trial, as it was now found impossible to obtain a quorum of commissioners, owing to several of those who had been appointed members of the commission, refusing to serve. This necessitated another journey to Edinburgh, for the purpose of getting others appointed to take their place. At last the appointments were made, and a quorum was prepared to sit. In the meantime, however, things had been going from bad to worse. To the alarm of the Presbytery, a fresh outbreak of Satanic activity had occurred, more terrible than any they were preparing to deal with.

At the meeting on December 30, 1696, Mr. Turner, the minister at Erskine, unfolded before the Presbytery the dreadful story of the bewitching of Christian Shaw, the Laird of Bargarran's daughter. "Mr. Turner," so runs the minute, "represented the deplorable case of Christene Shaw, daughter of the Laird of Bargarran, in the parish of Erskine, who since the beginning of September last, hath been under a sore and unnatural-like distemper, frequently seized with strange fits, sometimes blind, sometimes deaf and dumb, the several parts of her body violently extended, and other times violently contracted, and ordinarily much tormented in various parts of her body, which is attended with an unaccountable palpitation in those parts that are pained, and that these several

weeks by past, she hath disgorged a considerable quantity of hair, folded up straw, unclean hay, wild fowle feathers, with divers kinds of bones of fowls and others, together with a number of coal cinders, burning hot candle grease, gravel stones, etc., all which she puts forth during the foremen-tioned fits, and in the intervals of them is in perfect health, wherein she gives ane account of several persons, both men and women, that appear to her in her fits, tormenting her, all which began upon the back of one Katherine Campbell, her cursing her. And though her father hath called physicians of the best note to her during her trouble, yet their application of medicine to her hath proven ineffectual, either to better or worse, and that they are ready to declare that they look upon the distemper as *toto genere* preter-natural, all which is attested by the ministers who have visited her in her trouble, upon all which Mr. Turner desired that the Presbytery would do what they judged convenient in such a juncture."

The Presbytery were more alarmed than ever. They appointed "the exercise of fasting and prayer to be continued as it is already set up by Mr. Turner in that family every Tuesday." Two of their number were appointed to repair to Bargarran, and there draw up a narrative of all the cir-cumstances of the case, and two others were dispatched to Edinburgh to lay the whole matter before the Privy Council, and to obtain a commission for the trial of all who were suspected to be the tormentors of Bargarran's daughter. On their way, these brethren were directed to call upon Dr. Brisbane, and "to entreat him to give a declaration of his sentiments of the foresaid trouble." There is no record of his "sentiments" about the trouble, nor is there any as to whether the two brethren saw him. A commission was granted by the Privy Council to Lord Blantyre and others to take precognitions of these diabolical manifestations. Messrs. Symson, Turner, and Blackwell, were appointed by the Presbytery to wait upon the Commissioners at their meeting at Renfrew on February 5, and a day of public fasting and humiliation was appointed to be held throughout

the parish of Erskine, Messrs. Hutcheson and Symson being directed to assist the minister of the parish in the services.

The commissioners lost no time in setting to work. Between February 5 and 17, they apprehended James and Thomas Lindsay, and Elizabeth Anderson, whom Christian Shaw had denounced as her tormentors, and these having delated a number of others, they also were apprehended. On February 18, the Presbytery, who had already held a meeting the day before, met at Renfrew, when they waited upon the commissioners, "and finding that Bargarran was desired by the commissioners to go in [to Edinburgh] with their report, which was to be put into the hands of Sir John Maxwell to present to the Council, did think that one of our number should go in company with Bargarran; and accordingly did appoint Mr. Thomas Blackwell, and failing him, Mr. Robert Taylor, to go in to Edinburgh and to represent to the said Sir John Maxwell, and, with his concurrence, to His Majesty's Advocate and other Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council the lamentable condition of this part of the country upon account of the great number that are delated by some that have confessed, and of the many murders and other maleficies that in all probability are perpetrated by them, and to entreat their compassion in granting a commission for putting these persons to a trial and for bringing the same to an effectual and speedy issue, and that they would order some way for maintaining those of them that have nothing of their own till the trial be complete or so long as they should be detained in prison." As for the three confessants—the two Lindsays and Elizabeth Anderson—at the desire of the commissioners, they were distributed in the houses of the ministers of the Presbytery, who were instructed to deal with their consciences as opportunity offered.

In due time the judges arrived armed with full powers, and a certain number of the Presbyters, who had been appointed by their brethren "to wait upon their Lordships," issued the following manifesto to all within the bounds of the Presbytery:—"The Presbytery, considering the great rage of Satan in this corner of the land, and particularly in

the continued trouble of Bargarran's daughter, which is a great evidence of the Lord's displeasure, being provoked by the sins of the land (exprest as the causes of our former public fasts) so to let Satan loose amongst us. Therefore the Presbytery judge it very necessary to set apart a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, that we may humble ourselves under God's hand, and wrestle with God in prayer, that He may restrain Satan's rage, and relieve that poor afflicted damsel and that family in their present distress, and that the Lord would break in upon the hearts of these poor obdured wretches that are indicted for witchcraft, that they may freely confess to the glory of God and the rescuing of their own souls out of the hands of Satan, and that the Lord would conduct and clear their way that are to be upon their trial, in order to the giving of Satan's kingdom an effectual stroke. Therefore the Presbytery appoints Thursday come eight days to be religiously and solemnly observed upon the accounts foresaid in all the congregations within their bounds, and the same to be intimate the Sabbath preceding."

Mr. Blackwell, who, as might be expected, took a particular interest in this case, intimated the fast from the pulpit of the Abbey Church, according to the above injunction, and added to it some words of his own. These were considered so important, that they were printed and published, and have thus come down to us. Evidently Mr. Blackwell was possessed by the idea that a great and critical struggle was going on between the Church and the devil. "My friends," he said, "we have been preaching of Christ to you; we are now going to speak of the Devil to you—the greatest enemy that our Lord and His Kingdom hath in the world. The thing I am about to intimate to you is this—the members of the Presbytery having taken into consideration how much Satan doth rage in these bounds, and, which indeed is lamentable, in our bounds, and in ours only, they have thought to appoint a day of fasting and humiliation, that so He who is the Lion of the Tribe of Judah may appear with power against him who is the angel of the bottomless pit, and throw him down who is now come out in great wrath.

O! that it may be because his time is short!" He then went on to "hint a few things" as to the causes of the fast, and ended with the startling suggestion—"Who knows but in this congregation there be many who have these many years hence been under vows to Satan . . . so it is the ministers' and the people of God's duty and interest not only to pray that God would find out the guilty among these that are apprehended, but that God would discover all others that are guilty and who are not apprehended, that the Kingdom of Christ may run and be glorified, and the Kingdom of Satan destroyed."

What effect this suggestion had upon the congregation is not told. Doubtless many were startled, and perhaps feared lest the hand of the officer might next rest upon them. Mr. Hutchison was appointed to preach before the judges, and chose for his text the ominous words—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." With these words ringing in their ears, the judges proceeded to their work. The trial lasted many days, much strange evidence was given, and the members of the Presbytery were always present, ready with their suggestions, and equally ready to converse with the accused. These, when it was found that they had on them "insensible marks," had no chance of escape. The advocate for the prosecution declared to the jury that, if they acquitted the prisoners, "they would be accessory to all the blasphemies, apostasies, murders, listures, and seductions whereof these enemies of heaven and earth should hereafter be guilty." The jury, who had no intention of running any such risks, found seven of the accused—three men and four women—guilty as libelled, and they were at once condemned to the flames. The Presbytery appointed two of its members to preach to them in the Tolbooth on the day preceding their execution. During the last night, the whole of the Presbytery were ordered to spend some time with the condemned, and on the day of execution they "did allot to each one or two of the brethren, one of the sentenced persons to be dealt with by them, and *waited upon to the fire.*" Before the day fixed for their execution, June 9, 1697, one of the men

died, probably by his own hand, in the prison of Renfrew, and so deprived the one or two of the brethren to whom he had been allotted, the ghastly duty of "waiting upon him to the fire." The rest were duly executed on the Gallow-green—the victims of a fanaticism as blind and cruel as ever darkened the souls of men.

In all this wretched business, the Bailies and Town Councillors appear to have had no actual hand. They repaired the Tolbooth, and arranged the court room for the convenience of the commissioners; they also bought a "new cloth with a silk fringe to be laid before Baillies every Sunday in the kirk seat, and spent nearly fifty pounds in making seventeen of the commissioners burgesses"—all which, of course, does not prove that they had any actual hand in causing the death of these seven poor souls. Still, there can be little doubt, that they approved of what was done, and stood by consenting unto their death. It is scarcely to be expected that they should have done otherwise, or that they should have been less credulous or more enlightened than their spiritual guides. Mr. Blackwell was a great favourite with them, and it is not at all unlikely that they shared his fanaticism to the full.

On June 22, 1698, Mr. Brisbane, the minister at Kilmacolm, who had so successfully dealt with the diabolical activities of his parishioner, Janet Wodrow, announced to the Presbytery that he had unearthed a fresh case of the power of Satan, in the person of Margaret Laird of Kilmacolm. There ensued the usual fastings and prayers, and renewed consultations with the Privy Council, letters to the King's Advocate, delations and imprisonments, in all which Mr. Thomas Blackwell took a large part; but before anything effectual could be done, Mr. Thomas Blackwell was translated to Aberdeen, where he afterwards became a Professor in the University.[1] His departure wears very

[1] If the lectures to which his students were obliged to listen were made up of the same sort of stuff as his published works, they were deserving of the utmost commiseration. "In giving an account of the Universe,"

much the appearance of being a signal for the withdrawal of the extra forces of Satan from within the bounds of the Presbytery. For, strange to say, he had not been long gone before the Satanic manifestations against which he had fought so valiantly, began to disappear, and the Evil One ceased to labour within the bounds, except in his ordinary ways.

says Mr. Graham, "he writes down the 'motions and resolutions' of the Council of the Trinity like a Clerk writing the Minutes of Presbytery. He tells how the Deity did from all eternity enjoy perfect blessedness in the 'contemplation of His own perfections.' But the Divine mind 'presently' found that He could get 'an additional revenue of glory by creating rational creatures who should sing eternal hallelujahs.' 'A motion was made' to this effect in the Council of the Three-in-One; and 'the aforesaid great motion was agreed to (Job xxxv. 7; Rev. iv. 11),'—so states Dr. Blackwell, who attributes to the deliberations of the Trinity the procedure of the Presbytery of Aberdeen." The curious reader who wishes to see more samples of this witchfinder's precious theology, will find a number in Mr. Graham's excellent work on Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, at the beginning of chapter x.



CHAPTER XXIV.

A NEW CHARTER.

THE relations between the town and its superiors, Lord Claud and the first Earl of Abercorn, appear to have been perfectly harmonious. There was one point on which the Town Council and the Earl may have differed. On April 27, 1608, probably in the Earl's absence, the Town Council passed the following:—"Act anent the Silver Bell: *Item*, it is concluded that a silver bell be made of 4 oz. weight with all diligence for a horse race yearly, to be appointed within the burgh bounds, and a day for the running thereof to be set down by advice of my Lord Earl of Abercorn, Lord of Paisley and Kilpatrick." A strong Presbyterian and sometime member of the General Assembly of the Kirk, it is not unlikely that the Earl objected to the institution of horse races within the bounds of the burgh. There is nothing to that effect in the town's records; but when the question of the races came to be revived and the races were instituted, all that is said of the Act of 1608 is, that it was "not effectuate." The older of the two silver race bells is dated 1620.

At first, and for a number of years, the relations between the second Earl and the town's authorities were perfectly friendly. The Presbytery had not then begun to prosecute either him or his mother or his wife. At the Head Court, held on October 4, 1619, the proceedings were conducted as formerly, with the exception that the young Earl allowed the Council to choose the first bailie, while he himself chose the second. In the following year, he and the Council were quite at one, or appear to have been, in respect to the horse races. On May 13, they met together in the Tolbooth, "and concluded and ordained that yearly in all time coming

their bell race shall be run on the sixth day of May," in the manner the minute goes on to describe. At the October Head Court, 1624, the Dowager Countess showed her interest in the burgh by presiding in her son's absence and appointing one of the bailies for the year ensuing. The Earl appointed one of the bailies at the court held on October 4, 1630. From April 24, 1634, to January 29, 1635, there is no record, the pages of the Town Council minute book being left blank. There is no reason to suppose that during the period mentioned there were no meetings of the Town Council. The blank pages show rather that the clerk had the rough jottings of the business, and that at one time he entertained the intention of engrossing them in proper form, but failed to carry out his intention.

At the meeting of the Town Council on September 30, 1637, Lord Abercorn was chosen one of the bailies, probably at his own request, or on his own nomination. The Records of the Town Council from January 29, 1638, to November 9, 1645, are lost. It is in the minutes of the meeting held in October, 1647, that the first sign of discord appears in the extant Records of the Town Council. By this time many things had happened to set the Earl and the burgh at variance. The Presbytery had prosecuted his mother and brought her to an untimely and miserable end. To himself, that reverend body had done their worst, and he was now being tormented with the attentions of a commission of the General Assembly. In all these proceedings, the Kirk had doubtless been aided and abetted by some in the Town Council and among the inhabitants of the town. The wonder is that the Earl continued so long to take a kindly interest in the town.

The first sign that his interest was waning is contained in a letter which he wrote to the King in 1634, three years after his mother had been practically done to death by the Kirk. In the letter referred to, he offered to freely quit all the superiorities of the great vassals of the abbacy, being those above the yearly value of 300 merks, provided he might retain the smaller vassals. He further offered to resign his interest

in the regality so far as the higher vassals were concerned.[1] The King was disposed to accept the offer, and forbade any new signature for the small vassals so reserved to pass the seals. For some time nothing came of the matter; but on January 24, 1642, the Earl's offer was accepted. He renounced the feu-duties and casualties of the great vassals in favour of the King, who granted him a charter of Confirmatian and Novodamus, which he promised to ratify in the next parliament.[2]

The disagreement which arose at the October Head Court in 1647, had reference to the election of the bailies. By the charter of 1488, the power of choosing and removing the bailies and other officials was placed by the King in the abbot and his successors; and, in the charter of 1490, Abbot Shaw required them to be chosen by the advice of himself or his successor, and retained for the superior the right of depriving them of their office at pleasure. Hitherto, however, the practice had been for the superior to appoint one bailie and for the Town Council to appoint the other. The Earl now claimed the right to appoint both. The Council protested, conferences were held, lawyers were consulted, but without arriving at an arrangement. At the meeting in October, 1648, the Earl appointed both the bailies, the Town Council protesting.

At the same meeting, another trouble arose, and the following minute was passed:—"In respect that it is concurred and perceived by divers of the Town, affecting the weal thereof, that the Earl of Abercorn intends to encroach upon the town's liberties, and in particular in impeding them to win, cut, and labour their moss land, and for that purpose the said Earl and his Lordship's factors have begun to assume to them the rooms alleged to be the Monks' Rooms in the moss, thinking thereby to get possession of the moss and land thereof: therefore the Council for the speedy preventing thereof, have referred to the two bailies the way how the

[1] Com. Hist. MSS., IX., ii. 264a; Charters and Docs.

[2] Reg. Magni Sigilli, Lib. lvii. fol. 51; Laing, Charters, No. 2303; Charters and Docs.

same may be prevented, and his Lordship encroaching in possession interrupted."[1] The "rooms" were portions of the mosslands, and from their name, "Monks' Rooms," appear to have been at one time used by the monks for digging peat or other purposes. Whether the Town Council rightly interpreted the Earl's action, is uncertain. The matter seems to have been amicably arranged, though not before considerable expense had been incurred by taking legal advice in Edinburgh.

This altered attitude of the Earl towards the burgh, for which there can be little doubt the Presbytery and Kirk were largely to blame, while it estranged the people from the Earl and his family, made the magistrates and Town Council anxious to place their liberties and privileges on a surer footing. Their first step was to obtain an Act of Parliament ratifying their former charters. It was passed, the representative of Renfrew dissenting, on May 11, 1648.[2]

At the Head Court, in October, 1649, the Earl was not present, and the old and new Council elected both the bailies for the year. On November 26, the bailies and Town Council went further. They resolved that "with all possible diligence there shall be ane means and endeavour used for obtaining ane new charter of the burgh, with ane other new charter of all the tenements that are holden by the town of the Earl of Abercorn formerly with the tiends included, to be now holden of the King's Majesty."[3] The King referred to was Charles II., who was still in Scotland; and what the Council contemplated was nothing less than to buy out the Earl and to obtain the erection of their burgh of barony into a royal burgh. Considering the complaints which the Town Council were at this time making of the inability of the town to bear the burdens which were imposed upon them for the maintenance of the royal army and Court, the idea was a bold one. At the same time, it was not without its

[1] Fifty years later, on June 9, 1697, a Decreet of Reduction was issued by the Earl of Dundonald against the town of Paisley of the liberty granted them of taking feal, divot, or peats off the moss of Paisley.

[2] Acta. Parl. Scot., VI., ii. 82. [3] Town Council Records, MS.

prudential aspects. Charles was in great want of men and money, and was quite ready to grant to the burghs anything which would strengthen his hold upon them and cost him nothing. But in the following year he was defeated at Worcester, and the project in the meantime came to nothing.

On June 22, 1652, the Earl of Abercorn signed a disposition, by which, for the sum of £13,333 6s. 8d. Scots, he sold to the Earl of Angus "the lordship and barony of Paisley, comprehending the burgh and barony of Paisley and the town thereof, with all the lands and privileges contained in the charters of the town, together with the fishings of the Black and White Cart." Sasine was given two days later.[1] The following year, August 3, 1653, the Earl of Angus parted with his purchase to William Lord Cochrane of Dundonald, who received sasine on December 7 following.[2]

The Cochranes, who had been connected with the county of Renfrew for upwards of five hundred years, now took up their residence in the Place of Paisley, and are said to have made considerable alterations upon it. Of their relations with the inhabitants of the burgh, little is known. On the whole, they appear to have been harmonious, though one incident is mentioned which shows that they were not altogether so. Sloping down from the Place to the river was a piece of green sward, often referred to in the earlier charters of the monastery as lying below the dormitory of the monks, which had come to be used as a public bleaching green, where the washerwomen of the town might be seen with their petticoats tucked up, tramping the famlly linen in tubs and carrying on the operations of rinsing and bleaching. Lady Cochrane did not care about this daily spectacle, and "declared that none should have liberty to bleach on the green under the chambers." By her orders apparently, the "knocking stones" which had been set up for the use of the bleachers, were thrown down, and much irritation was caused. Appeal was made to the Town Council, who, "without a contrary voice concluded to go down to the bleaching green betwixt

[1] General Register of Sasines, i. (N. S.), fol. 79; Charters and Docs.

[2] General Register of Sasines, vi., fol. 421; Charters and Docs.

the abbey chambers and the water, and where the town's knocking stones are cast down, and to set them up again." Down, therefore, they went, accompanied by a crowd, set up the knocking stones, and thus vindicated the assumed rights of the washerwomen. The Dundonalds were suspected of strong leanings towards Episcopacy, but they are reported to have conformed to the religion of the time and to have occupied their "loft" in the abbey church.

Meantime, though the Dundonalds had acquired the superiority of the town, the Town Council had not given up the idea of getting rid of a mid-superior and of obtaining a new charter. With a view to this, and stimulated apparently by some action which was being taken on the part of the superior, in 1656 they entered into negotiations with him and his eldest son, William Master of Cochrane. The negotiations extended over a period of two years, and occasioned much correspondence and travelling between Edinburgh and Paisley. At last a long agreement between the two parties, the town on the one side and Lord Dundonald and his son on the other, was drawn up, and signed on May 3, 1658.[1] In the Contract, as the agreement is called, no mention is made of the sum paid to Lord Dundonald by the town for the rights it acquired; but, under date December 3, 1659, the following statement occurs in the records of the Council: "This day there is a precept direct to William Love, Treasurer, for payment making to William Greenlees, present Treasurer, of the sum of 300 pounds money, wherewith to make up and pay to Robert Alexander, writer, the sum of 554 merks money, in part payment of the sum of 900 merks money, with a year's annual rent thereof owing to the Master of Cochrane's bond." Three months later there is another entry in the minutes relating to the same business, but of a somewhat different nature. Partly to signify their gratitude to two of the King's advocates for the good service they had rendered in negotiating and completing the Contract with the Earl of Dundonald, and partly to retain their services, it

[1] The Contract is in the Town Charter Chest, and is printed in Charters and Docs.

was concluded by the Council "that there should be four dozen trenchers and one dozen new cups sent to Sir John Gilmour and Sir John Fletcher, the King's advocates, to move them to continue the town's friends." For their own share in the business, the magistrates and town councillors received, on May 14, 1661, the thanks of the inhabitants.

The new charter had still to be obtained, and the slow movements of the law severely taxed the patience of the Town Council. At last, on December 8, 1665, a Charter of Resignation and Confirmation was obtained from Charles II. On July 28, 1666, it passed the Great Seal, and became the "Magna Charta" of the rights and liberties of the town.[1]

This new charter incorporated the contract made with the Earl of Dundonald. It did away with Lord Dundonald's superiority, and every other superiority save that of the Crown, to which a yearly cess of seven pounds Scots was henceforth to be paid in lieu of all other payments of this kind. It practically made the bailies, Town Council, and community of the burgh their own masters. It conveyed to them "all and whole the burgh and town of Paisley, with burgh acres, crofts, tenements, houses, burgh mails, and lands of Seedhill," within certain boundaries and with certain exceptions; also the feu duties paid of old to the abbots and their successors. It conveyed to them the right to choose their own provost, bailies, etc., and confirmed to them their right of holding free markets and fairs, and, generally speaking, all the other rights and privileges they had enjoyed under the original charter. In the boundaries described, what is now known as the Newton was not included, and the magistrates did not acquire any jurisdiction over it until the first half of the nineteenth century. The charter was unquestionably of great service to the inhabitants, and began a new era in the history of the town. Great credit is due to the magistrates and Town Council for their sagacity, and for the perseverance they showed in connection with it.

[1] Town Archives; Charters and Docs.



SLEZER'S VIEW OF PAISLEY, 1693.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE TOLBOOTH.

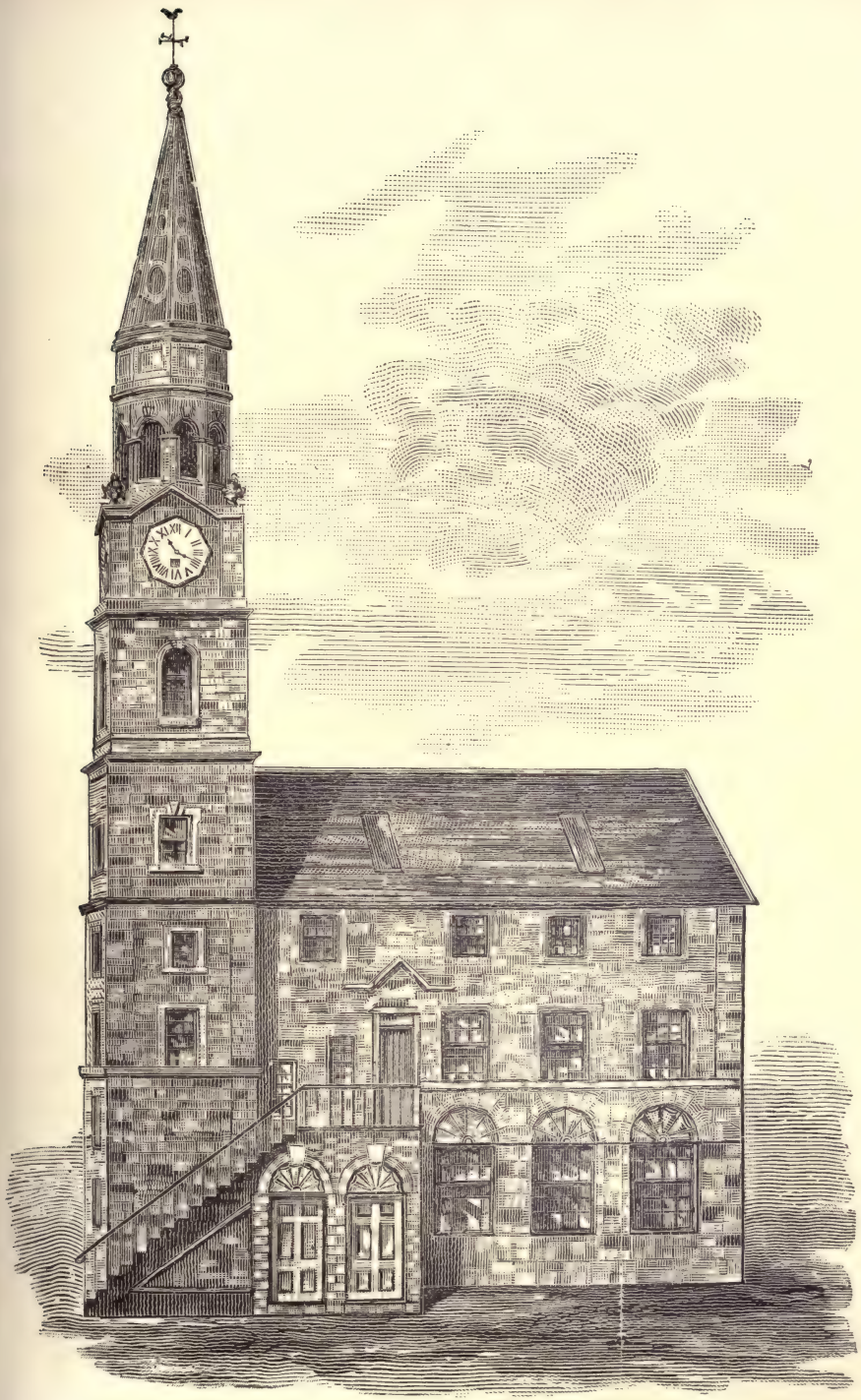
Eleven months after he had given effect to the charter of James IV., erecting the town of Paisley into a burgh of barony, Abbot George Shaw presented the provost, bailies, burgesses, and community of the new burgh with "our House, commonly called the Heyt House, with vaults, booths, and other its pertinents, as well under as above," to be henceforth in all time coming "a common Tolbooth to be used for us, abbot and convent, and our successors, in the Courts of Justiciary of our Lord the King, and our other Courts of Regality to he held and had in the same; also to be used for the said provost, bailies, burgesses, and community of the said burgh and their successors, as often as may be needful or expedient," on payment of four pennies to the abbot and convent as burghal ferme and four shillings and eightpence usual money yearly "for the sustentation and repair of the light of the altar of S. Mirin and the tomb of the saint only."

The building was of two stories, and stood at the south-west corner of Moss Street, where, as already remarked, the Commercial Bank now stands. Subsequently a common hall and a steeple containing a clock and bell were added to it. The earliest mention of the "knock" and bell occurs on November 12, 1603, when, according to their minutes, the Town Council entered into an agreement with John Wallace, smith, who, in consideration of a payment of ten merks and five shillings usual money, undertook to keep the clock and bell in good order and to ring the bell every night at eight o'clock for a year. Six years after this, the whole structure known as the Tolbooth was declared to be in a ruinous condition, and in the following year, 1610, the Town

Council sold six roods of land, described as situated "above the Greenhill betwixt the Raw Brig and the march of Ferguslie and the Lone Road," in order to obtain funds to rebuild it. Thirty-seven years later—that is, in 1647—it was resolved to buy a new clock, at a cost of four hundred pounds, and to build a "new prick" in the Tolbooth for a new bell, the stonework of which was to be built by John Caldwell, his son and servant. Caldwell was to be paid at the rate of six pounds Scots a week, and his son and servant half as much apiece, but "without morning or evening drink." In Slezer's picture of the town in 1693, both the tower and spire are conspicuous objects.

After an existence of close upon a century and a half, the Tolbooth of 1610 was declared by the Town Council to be "very defective in several ways," and "insufficient for detaining prisoners." On January 23, 1756, a resolution was passed by the Council authorizing the magistrates to procure plans and estimates for the building of a new Tolbooth. At a meeting held on May 7 following, the plans prepared by Bailie Birkmyre were preferred, but at a later meeting, held on July 9, in the same year, the Town Council resolved to rebuild the steeple adjoining the Tolbooth as well. New plans were therefore obtained, and those of Mr. John Whyte, then a member of the Town Council, having been selected, the structure, of which a representation is given on the opposite page,[1] was erected in 1757. The completion of the building was marked by an accident by which one of those who were employed upon it nearly lost his life. On the top of the spire, which was 128 feet high, was a cock which formed a vane. John Mair, a young mason, sixteen years of age, had just placed this in its position, and was descending, when he missed his footing, and for a moment it appeared as if he would be dashed to pieces at the base of the steeple, but fortunately, while falling, he managed to catch hold of a projecting stone, and there he

[1] From a drawing made by Mr. Hugh Vallance before the Tolbooth was taken down in 1821.



CROSS STEEPLE AND TOLBOOTH, 1757.

hung suspended in mid air till beds were brought and placed beneath him to break his fall. At a given signal he let go his hold, and fell upon the beds prepared to receive him unhurt. It is reported that when he rose and found that he was unhurt, he exclaimed, "By this fall I rise." Anyhow, he left the mason's trade, and taking to commerce, amassed a large fortune. A man whose arm was broken in trying to break his fall, Mair subsequently sought out, and finding him in poor circumstances, pensioned him for life.

The principal part of the building was reached by an outside stair, on the top of which was a comparatively spacious platform, upon which were fixed the whipping-post and stocks. Here, too, were exposed and punished those who were condemned to the jougs, the branks between attached to a chain fastened to the steeple. Mention is also made of a "cukstool," but its position is not exactly clear. At first the cukstool was generally placed beside the market cross. Subsequently it was placed in the parish church, and became the "stool of repentance." Offenders were sometimes merely tied to the whipping-post and made to stand there from six to twelve hours a day, and sometimes for several successive days, without being subjected to the punishment of the whip. It was not an uncommon thing for those who were condemned to the whipping-post, the stocks, or the cukstool, to be compelled to wear on their foreheads a paper advertising their offence.

On the landing above referred to were two doors. The one on the right, or to the north, formed the entrance to the Sheriff Court rooms, in which the magistrates of the burgh also frequently held their courts. The door to the left, or on the south of the landing, gave access to the Tolbooth. Of the two doors under the landing, the one on the right led to what was at first the Guardhouse, and afterwards, the Police Office, the Town Clerk's Office, and the Council Chambers. The other door gave access to a room on the ground floor of the steeple, which was known as "the Howf," where ale and porter were sold, and to an apartment behind it, on the same floor, facing the High Street, called

the jailor's room, where the same beverages were also occasionally sold. Here, too, by an inside stair, communication was had with the rooms on the third floor, where debtors were confined, and with the attics, where women were imprisoned. In the second and third storeys of the steeple, above the jailor's room, were cells for criminals. The fourth and highest room in the steeple was reserved for the bell ringer.

The Tolbooth was not a secure prison, and escapes from it were frequent. In 1821, it was taken down and rebuilt according to plans prepared by Mr. Reid, the architect of the County Buildings, and added to the Saracen Head Inn.[1] The steeple stood till the year 1870, when, owing to some excavations being carried on in front of it in the High Street, it acquired a dangerous list towards the south, and had to be taken down. An attempt to compel the Town Council to rebuild it failed.

Down to the year 1633, it would appear that a burgess might be appointed a bailie immediately on his election to the Town Council, or without being so elected, and that he could remain a bailie for any number of consecutive years. But in that year it was statute and ordained that no one should be eligible for the bailieship until he had served at least one year as a Town Councillor, and that no bailie should hold office for more than two years consecutively.

Originally the Town Council was elected by the community, subject to the approval of the superior, and might consist of twelve members, or of as many more as might be deemed expedient. Subsequently, in consequence of an Act of Parliament regulating the elections, the burgesses were practically disfranchised, and the Council was elected in the manner described in the following minute:—

"30th September, 1661.—*Sederunt:* the said Robert Alexander and John Vaus, baillies; Robert Fork, elder, John Hamilton, John Paterson, James Alexander, elder, William

[1] The frontispiece to the volume shows the building as altered according to Mr. Reid's plans.

Greenlees, younger, Master William Fork, John Wallace, notar, Adam Paterson, Thomas Henderson, John Snodgrass, Robert Love, younger, John Glen, William Love, John Fyff, James Alexander, younger, who have elected to be on the New Council for the year to come, viz., William Greenlees, elder, James Maxwell, merchant, John Paterson, elder, maltman, Mr. Robert Wallace, John Lyne, David M'Horter, William Robertson, merchant, who being all seven solemnly sworn and having made faith as use is; and the said Baillies and Council being all removed, the said seven of the New Council did elect furth of the said former Council to be with them on the New Council for the year to come, viz.: the said Robert Alexander and John Vaus (last Baillies), Robert Fork, elder, John Hamilton, William Greenlees, younger, merchant, John and Adam Patersons, James Alexander, elder, William and Robert Love, younger, who all retiring, and being solemnly sworn as use is, the whole Councillors, both old and new, did choose to be on the leet of Baillies, viz.: Robert Alexander and John Vaus (prior Baillies), Robert Fork, elder, William Greenlees, elder, John Hamilton and John Paterson, who being all removed, the said New and Old Council did choose out of the said leet the said Robert Alexander and John Vaus to be baillies for the year to come, who gave their oaths *de fideli administratione* during the space."

From this minute it will be seen that the outgoing Council elected seven who were not of their number, to be members of the new Council. These seven then proceeded to elect ten members of the old Council to act with them, and the seventeen formed the new Council for the year. Out of the seventeen, six were placed upon a leet for bailies. These six retired, and the eleven remaining, chose two out of the six, and the two chosen became the bailies for the year to come.

This system of electing the Town Council and bailies continued for many years, and gave rise to much dissatisfaction and corruption. In a number of places, more especially in royal burghs, the control of municipal affairs fell into the hands of cliques, by whom the property of the burgh was dissipated, and in some places actually allocated among the members of the Town Council, or of the cliques, for comparatively small sums.

The hour of meeting for the Town Council varied. On January 8, 1619, the councillors resolved to "convene in the Council House of the said burgh with the bailies upon Friday the fifth February next, at seven hours in the morning, for hearing of John Algeo, younger, Treasurer, his account, and that the whole persons that are indebted in any pittance be warned to compear before the Bailies and Council the said day and place." In 1647, a meeting was appointed to be held between six and seven o'clock in the morning, on September 1. On October 30, 1648, it was resolved to meet "in the time of winter at nine o'clock morning each Monday, and in summer at eight o'clock, and that none without a very necessary and an extraordinary occasion and excuse be absent under the pain of twenty shillings." Three years later, during the Cromwellian occupation, an attempt was made to obtain greater punctuality than was observed, by passing the following resolution :—"Whosoever of the Council shall not precisely keep the Council meeting at the hour whereunto they shall be warned, shall immediately thereafter be poinded for twenty shillings." Bailies neglecting to exact the fine were to be poinded for the sum themselves. Against the resolution, John Wallace, notary, protested "in respect of his common employments." On January 29, 1655, immediately after permission had been obtained from General Monk to elect a bailie, an Act was passed ordering the Council to meet every Monday at two in the afternoon. Councillors who were late were to be fined sixpence, and bailies twelvepence. "The Clerk being advertised that a quorum is met and keeps not time" was "to pay sixpence." During the prevalence of the plague in 1645, the meetings of the Council ceased to be held in the Tolbooth. They were held at the Cross and in the Smithhills, and on one occasion the election of the bailies took place in the kirkyard. The members were probably afraid to meet elsewhere than in the open air, lest they should infect each other. The precaution was certainly judicious. In 1652, Cromwell's commander abolished all courts, and on April 26, in that year, the Council agreed "that upon Thursday next, the penult of

this instant, which should be the Head Court day, they shall meet in James Alexander, bailie, his 'heich hall,' and there elect a new Treasurer for the affairs of the town, shall create any burgesses that shall happen to be, and receive resignations if any be, and book those having right to common lands." The magistrates and councillors were not without spirit, and were prepared to do their duty by the burgh in spite of the English Puritans.

In the council chamber, or in an adjoining room, would be kept the charter chest, containing the town's "evidents," and probably the treasurer's chest, or strong box. In some part of the building, also, were probably at first kept the standard weights and measures, or "met-looms," the mort-cloths, the salvers, and those dread instruments, the burning-irons.

Fortunately for the town, Cromwell's troopers who took possession of the Tolbooth did not meddle with the town's "evidents"; for, when they were "sighted," soon after their departure, by the bailies, they were found to be all right. What they were, it is impossible to say with certainty; but, from a minute in the record of the Council's proceedings under date July 21, 1660, we learn that the following "wreits and evidents," which had been carried to Edinburgh for use in the negotiations with Lord Dundonald, were on that day returned to the Council and put into the "charter kist," viz., "The charter of the Burgh of Paisley, granted by King James IV., dated 19th August, 1488; copy of the infeftment of Dunfermline, dated 9th September, 1491; the Act of Parliament and decreet obtained by the town of Paisley against the town of Renfrew, dated 22nd June, 1493; the Indenture between the towns of Paisley and Renfrew, dated 19th January, 1586; the Ratification of Parliament in favour of the Burgh of Paisley of their liberties, dated 11th May, 1648; the Common Charter given to the Bailies and Town Council by Abbot George Shaw, dated 2nd June, 1490; the Charter, Precept and Instrument of Sasine of Altarages, Pittances and Ground Annuals of the Town of Paisley; the two contracts betwixt the Earl of Abercorn and the Town of Paisley, the one of them containing a Disposition of the Teinds, Parsonage

and Vicarage of the Common Lands, the other of the teinds, parsonage and vicarage of the heritage lands, with two Instruments of Resignation thereof in the hands of the Lords of Exchequer in favour of the Town; and a Disposition made by William Lord Cochrane of all interest he has in the Town of Paisley, except their relieving him yearly of seven pounds of feu duties and giving him a courteous salutation at ilk Michaelmas Election of Magistrates, acknowledging their respect to his Lordship, with his Lordship's Procuratory of Resignation of the feu mails and others contained in the Disposition."

Among the writs and evidents now in the possession of the Town Council and preserved in the charter chest are, besides Abbot Shaw's charter of Erection, the same abbot's charter conveying to the Town Council the Common Hall or Heyt House, afterwards the Tolbooth; James Crawfurd of Kilwynat's charter; the Ratification by the Diffinitors of the Order of Clugny of the gift of Thirty Crowns by Abbot George Shaw, for the Augmentation of the Monks' Pittance; the Grammar School charter; the charter of the Town's Hospital, and the charter granted to the town by Charles II. Besides these, there are others—many of them of less importance—in the charter chest. In the same room as the chest is a fairly complete set of Town Council Records. Formerly in the same room was a MS. volume on vellum entitled the "Paisley Chartulary," a different volume from the Registrum de Passelet which is in the British Museum. It contains the feu charters, or copies of the charters, given by the abbots to the burgesses from 1404 to 1547. At the end of it is a copy of Malcolm IV.'s charter to Walter Fitz Alan, the first of the Hereditary High Stewards, and a copy of an agreement between Abbot John Hamilton and the Semples in respect to the bailieship of the regality. The volume also contains other documents of interest. James IV.'s charter of Erection has disappeared.

A number of documents relating to Paisley are said to be in the possession of the Abercorn family; a few are included in the Laing collection of charters, now in the possession of

the University of Edinburgh; and a number are in the Register House, Edinburgh, several of which, including the King's charter to Lord Claud Hamilton, of date July 29, 1487, were some time ago printed by the present writer.[1] A copy of the "Paisley Chartulary" is reported to be in the library at Brechin Castle.

Of the treasurer's strong box, nothing is known, except that it was known as the Councell Kist. Banks were not then—at least in Scotland—in existence, and it is not unlikely that the strong box in which the town's funds were in use to be kept stood either in the Council chamber or in an adjoining room. It is probable, also, that the treasurer in Paisley, as in other towns, was the custodian of another box, the box which usually stood upon the table in the Council chamber for the reception of the fines imposed upon the members of the Town Council for being late or absent. The one used in Dundee is still preserved, and is known as the "Pirlie Box."

On April 21, 1659, the Town Council passed a resolution that "none shall be on the leet of Baillies till first they have been Treasurer."

Prior to October 14, 1617, the magistrates and town councillors appear to have been in the habit of attending both the Council and the church in their homespun bonnets, but on that day they came to the resolution that henceforward they must each and all, when attending either kirk or Council, discard the homely bonnet and wear a hat. Their resolution took the following form: "The quhilk day it is statute and ordained that none of the Counsellors within the burgh come to the Counsall nor enter the Town dasse in the Kirk without hatts, nor yet that none presume to enter the said dasse in the Kirk but those that are presentlie upon the Counsell or has been thereupon."

The "town dasse" was a favourite as well as a conspicuous seat in the church, and frequent resolutions were passed

[1] Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Paisley (1163–1665) and Extracts from the Records of the Town Council (1594–1620). Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1902.

prohibiting women and others from occupying it before the magistrates and councillors, or to their inconvenience.

The "hatts" referred to were cumbrous and expensive things, more often worn under the arm than on the head. The resolution about them does not appear to have been closely adhered to, for on October 12, 1649, the above Act was ratified with the addition: "nor come to Head Courts and Fairs without a hat under the pain of twenty shillings." In the burgh of Peebles, the hats were a source of constant trouble. They were first ordained to be worn; next a penalty of twenty shillings was imposed for not wearing them; then the former Acts anent them were ratified with a clause absolutely forbidding any of the members to attend the council meetings "with blew bonnettis," and in 1646, it was ordained that "nane come without hattis, bot in decent forme as becommeth councillors," under the penalty of ten shillings. The "unlaw" at Dumbarton for the hatless Town Councillor was "sex shillings money *toties quoties*."

Particular attention was paid to the weights and measures in use, in order to protect the inhabitants of the town from fraudulent practices. References to them are fairly numerous in the Town Council Records. On April 4, 1600, it was ordained "that all furlats, pects, half pects, and quarter pects and other messours within the said burgh be met and messorit, and thereafter of new scillit and siclyk, and that all manner of stoipis wherewith aill is sauld or bought, be also met and messorit according to the messour and quantitie of just messour." On October 12, 1604, a similar ordinance was passed in respect to "all messors and wechts," and in the following minute of October 26, 1612, we have a fairly full description of the standard weights and measures—"Compearit William Grienlees, customer the year preceding: and grantit him to have in his hands and keeping the common metlomes and wechts underwritten, viz., twenty-two pects, thereof twa girthit with iron and ane with tymer, ane stane of thrie stane wecht, ane of twa stane wecht, ane of ane stane, ane half stane wecht, ane quarter wecht, ane twa pund wecht of leid, ane stane of ane pund wecht, ane

half pund wecht, ane quarter pund, ane pair of weyis, with the brod sufficientlie hung with ane pund wecht and half, ane pund wecht of leid, quhilk metlomes and wechts with the weyis sufficientlie hung as is said." They were all delivered there and then in the presence of the Council to William Aiken, the new "customer," who undertook to deliver them up again to his successor in like manner before the bailies. On February 10, 1648, forty-five measures belonging to the community, together with the standard, were delivered to the new customer, and four days later, all merchants and dealers in wares were ordered to provide themselves with leaden weights. Thirty years later, February 1, 1676, another enumeration occurs, from which it appears that "weys balks," "weys brods," "trone cheinzie," with various weights and measures, were then kept in the "Custome Booth," the door to which was provided with two keys. According to a minute under date October 14, 1669, "elwands," other than those "sealed with the stock of Pasleye," such as the "Irwein elwand," were in use for measuring cloth. This practice the Town Council forbade, and ordained that if any agreed to use it, the measuring should be done by the "common metster," who alone was authorised to have an "Irwein elwand" in his possession. Anyone having in his possession an "elwand" not sealed with the town's seal was to be fined three pounds Scots for each offence.

The first mention of the town's mortcloths occurs in a minute of the Town Council, under date April 14, 1608. As a rule, the mortcloths were kept by the Kirk Session, and let out on hire by them for the benefit of the poor. This was at one time probably the case in Paisley, but at the above date they were in the hands of the Town Council. The practice of using them soon became fashionable, and the Town Council, as they could fix their own charges, and had at first no competitors, made considerable profit. According to the minute referred to, it was concluded "that there be ane mortclaith of the finest black that can be gotten, and another mortclaith of substantious black for the common sort, and

that be the Baillies ane craftsman be chosen be them who can wail [select] the same." Thomas Peter was appointed mortcloth keeper, and was directed to lend out two mortcloths "to honest gentlemen in the country upon warrant from the Baillies, for forty shillings, and to those in the town for thirteen shillings and fourpence, and the dues to be given to the poor." On April 19, 1621, it was agreed "that there be ane vilvit mortclaith bought and that the old mortclaith be twined and dicht." In the following year, it was ordained that "freemen, their wives and bairns" were to have the use of the "velvit mortclaith" for forty shillings, "and that they get it not but within the space of three hours before the corps be brought furth." When the Tutor of Montgrenan wanted the use of the new cloth, in 1648, he had to pay £3 for it. The charge to parties living outside the burgh was always higher than to burgesses and residents within the town. Here are some of the charges, in Scots money, to outsiders, in 1657: The laird of Kelburne's brother, £4; John Dunsmuir, Neilston, £3; the Master of Cochrane's child, £3; John Orr, Drygate, Kilbarchan, £3; the youngest Goodman of Duchal, £4; Clothoderick's wife, £3 6s. 8d.; Robert Peebles' wife, Beith, £4.

In 1660, the Town Council resolved to have a more sumptuous mortcloth, and agreed to spend upon it the sum of £200 Scots. Bailie John Park was dispatched to Edinburgh, but reported on his return that "he had sought all the booths where there is any velvet, and found none three piled, and that the two piled was so bad and thin that he could not buy it for a mortcloth." Velvet of a satisfactory quality, however, was obtained somewhere, at any rate for a mortcloth for children, for on September 14, 1668, the keeper was directed to let out the "new velvet mortcloth bought and made for children" to burgesses, at a charge of sixteen shillings for children under twelve. From the minute regarding this, it appears that the charges were not satisfactory, and that mortcloths from other places were being used in the burgh, and that there were even people within the town who had got mortcloths of their own and were letting them out to

the prejudice of the magistrates and Town Council. A fine of ten pounds was therefore ordained to be levied upon any one found using any other than the town's mortcloths.

At all funerals in the eighteenth century and later, refreshments were served up for the comfort and consolation of the mourners, in the shape of bread and cheese and the "three rounds"—that is, a glass of rum, another of whisky, and another of wine. It is more than hinted that some were not contented with the "three rounds," and that drinking was often carried to excess at funerals. But whether that was the case or not, besides lending out mortcloths for funerals, the Town Council lent out salvers on which the three, or any number of "rounds" might be served. The following minute tells the number of salvers hired out by the Town Council and the cost of the hire:—"September 19, 1747.—They have agreed that the six salvers belonging to the town which cost ane pound eleven shillings sterling, be put into Claud Morrison's custody, keeper of the mortcloths, for which he is to receive from every burgess that uses the same at funerals, two shillings Scots for each salver; and from a non-burgess three shillings Scots for each, and ordain that they be not lent to any person living outwith the burgh until first allowance be had from the then magistrates, and caution be found to restore them without delay, and such to pay four shillings Scots for each salver."

Already, in 1681, an Act had been passed for restraining the exorbitant expenses of marriages, baptisms, and burials, but the Act was without effect. In the eighteenth century, "it was a dangerous thing to be ill, an expensive thing to die, and often a ruinous thing to be buried—the cost of a funeral sometimes being equal to a year's rental." This was especially the case in the Highlands. In the Lowlands, things were carried on with less noise and demonstration. After the refreshment, the procession passed on to the kirkyard. The ladies, who in the beginning of the century were clad in their gayest and brightest dresses, walked to the kirkyard gate, and only the male mourners stood by the grave. For a husband to attend the funeral of his wife was not

etiquette. He was left at home, where he was doubtless joined when the funeral was over by his relations, when more refreshments were served.[1]

But to return to the Tolbooth. The "vaults" on the ground floor of the original Tolbooth were probably used as a prison. The number of prisoners would at no time be great. Offenders from the outside of the burgh were got rid of by turning them out of the town after some summary punishment, such as a whipping or detention for a number of hours in the stocks or jougs, had been inflicted. For burgesses who had offended against the law, it was sufficient for the magistrates to order them to go and imprison themselves. To disobey the order was to invite the penalty of deprivation of the freedom of the burgh, which, if inflicted, meant ruin.

In Paisley, the curious custom prevailed of sending the key of the Tolbooth to anyone whose rents or feu duties had remained long unpaid. The meaning of it was that those to whom it was sent, were to go to the Tolbooth, and there remain until their debts owing to the town were paid. If they failed to obey within twenty-four hours after the key had been sent to them, the officers of the town were directed to apprehend them, to put them in the Tolbooth, and to keep them there until it was certified by the treasurer, that he had received full payment of all sums due by them to the town. In the leases issued by the Town Clerk to the town's tenants, a clause was always inserted to the effect that the subjects were held by the tenant and his cautioner "subject to the Act anent the key of the Tolbooth door."

The first mention of the key in the Town's Records is on November 20, 1648, when Robert Alexander, an ex-bailie, for refusing to deliver up the town's papers in his hands anent teinds, and disobeying the Act anent the Tolbooth key, was ordained to have "his freedom cried down." In the following year, July 24, 1649, "the bailies and council appointed the key of the Tolbooth door to be given to John

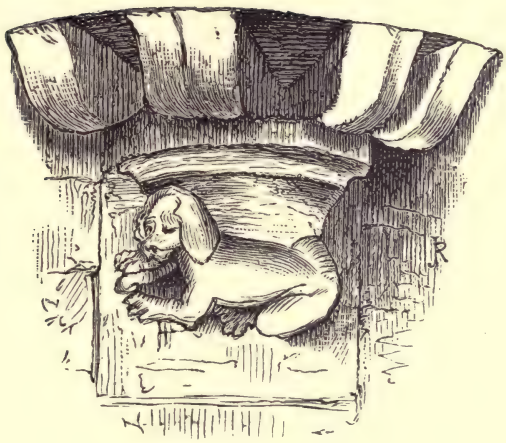
[1] Graham, Social Life in the Eighteenth Century, i. 52, 54; Caldwell Papers, i. 269.

Hamilton, maltman, for entering into ward till he pay the whole of his [debt due to the] Treasurer complete." In 1664, the treasurer experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining payment of the rents formerly due to the several altars in the Abbey Church, and for Abbot George Shaw's augmentation of the monk's pittance, and on October 13, in that year, they re-enacted the law in the following terms:— "The which day it is statute and ordained by the Bailies and Town Council that whatsoever person hereafter, burgess or inhabitant, liable in payment of any of the town's goods, and shifting or delaying to do the same shall have the key of the Tolbooth door sent to him by the Treasurer, for entering in ward, and remaining therein, till aye and while they pay that which they shall be liable unto, and that within the space of twenty-four hours after the sending to them of the said key, that then and in that case the officers as they shall answer upon their peril shall upon their first sight of them, put that person in ward, therein to remain in close ward aye and while they satisfy the debt." Upon this followed an Act, which, as far back as February 1, 1649, was called an "Auld Act," to the effect that "whatsomever burgess of the said burgh beis charged in ward for non-payment making of my common goods and disobeyes the said ward, he sall be called to ane particular court to heir and sie him discerned to have forfault [forfeited] his friedome and the samyne to be cryed downe incontinent at the mercat cross for his disobedience, and siclyke he that enters ward and breaks the samyne." Occasionally, the extreme penalty of crying down at the market cross was mitigated to a substantial fine. Occasionally, too, those who were in ward were allowed to go out to attend some pressing business specified, on finding sureties for their return. On May 11, 1672, John Glen, in Smiddiehills, having become caution and surety for him, the bailies resolved that "John Stewart sometime of Rais now within the prison of Paisley, during his imprisonment, ilk Sabbath that sall happen, sall get his liberty to come furth to the church of Paisley at eight hours in the morning and sall

return to prison at four hours in the same day in the afternoine."

The Customs' Booth, to which reference has been made, was probably one of the booths that stood close to the Tolbooth. In it were paid the petty customs and tolls which used to be levied on all goods and chattels of whatever kind exposed for sale at the market cross or in the markets. The charge on each article or animal sold or bought was strictly prescribed in the "Assize of Petty Customs." [1]

[1] Ancient Laws and Customs, 100.



CHAPTER XXVI.

MARKETS AND VALUES.

By the charter of Charles II., the market day was altered from Monday to Friday. On January 30, 1697, the bailies and Town Council changed the day from Friday to Thursday. The reason given is, that on Friday a market was held at Beith, and that both markets were "prejudiced thereby." Monday is still observed as the day for the cattle market.

Most of the rules for the holding of markets were laid down in the Ancient Burgh Laws of Scotland, in the Laws of the Gild, in the *Assisa de Tolloneis*, and in a number of "fragments of old laws, consisting of isolated notes of customs scattered through the MSS. of lawyers." They are very minute and precise, and appear to have been made with a view to the protection of the burgesses and the collection of the petty tolls and customs.

In Sheriffdoms, all the inhabitants therein, whether freeholders or peasants, were required to carry their movable wares for sale to the market cross of their county town, and were forbidden to carry them elsewhere, under a penalty of eight shillings and confiscation of their goods. Merchandise brought by sea had to be landed before it could be sold, with the exception of salt herrings, which might be sold in the vessel. On market days, burgesses and others within the burgh were forbidden to go outside the ports for the purpose of intercepting and bargaining with incoming traders. All goods had to be brought to the market cross or to the place assigned for their sale, and nothing could be bought or sold until the prices had been fixed by the officials appointed for the purpose and the bell had been rung at "mydmorne,"

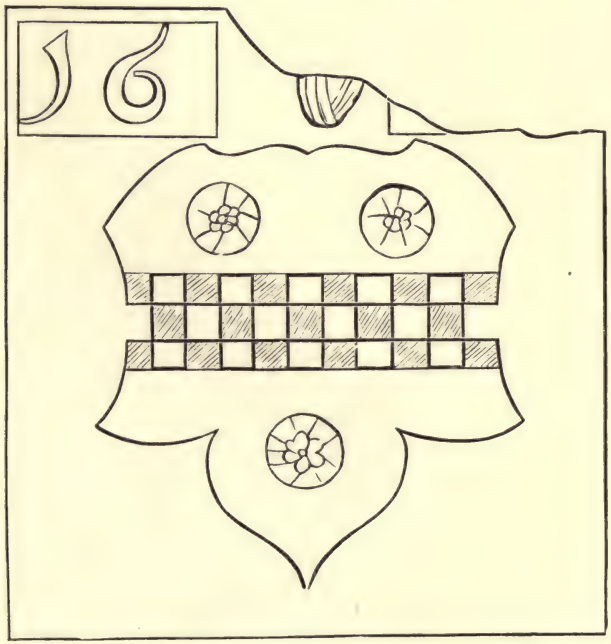
6 A.M., in summer, and at "undern," 9 A.M., in winter. Once the price of any article had been fixed by the officials, it could not be altered for that day; anyone selling at a higher or lower price was liable to be fined. Petty customs were levied on all goods offered for sale. The only weights and measures allowed to be used were, as we have seen, those bearing the seal of the burgh. No burgess was permitted to carry bread or ale from one market to another under pain of escheat and a fine of eight shillings. When ale was confiscated, it was ordained, as already mentioned, that two-thirds of it should be given to the poor and the remaining third to the hospital.[1] Pork or salmon exposed for sale and found to be "rotten," was directed to be given to the "lipper folk"; if there were no lepers in the burgh, it was to be destroyed. Buyers of such pork or salmon were to have their money paid back to them.

In Paisley, the principal market place was the Cross, where were the market cross, the "plane stanes," and the booths. The "plane stanes" were on the north side of the market place. They were raised a little above the adjacent causeway, and were protected by eighteen low stone pillars set at intervals round them. They formed an agreeable promenade, 72 feet long by 22 broad, where the burgesses met to transact business or to discuss any news that had come to hand. The booths were the town's property, and were let out by the year to highest bidders among the burgesses and stallingers. They were known as the North, Mid, South, New East, New West, and Brig booths. There were also the "Mid Buith under the Tollbuith," the "Heich Buithe," "Tolbuith Stair," the "Laigh Eist Buithe," and "West Laigh Buithe." They were let to tailors, cordiners, and others, at rents varying, in 1650, from £4 3s. 4d. to £31 Scots, the South Booth fetching the lowest sum, and the Laigh Booth under the Tolbooth stair the highest.

[1] Ancient Laws and Customs, p. 31.

In the Town Records, markets are mentioned for meal, fish, flesh, fowls, eggs, cheese, butter, salt, lint, wool, linen, cloth, shoes, "kye," horses. On July 13, 1658, the Town Council had under consideration a proposal to establish a beer market in the High Street, near the almshouse or hospital, but nothing came of the proposal.

Down to the year 1635, the meal market was held at the Cross, but on October 5 in that year, "on account of the throng and straitness of the street," it was "removed to the High Street, on the east side of the West Port." Its site was, until recently, occupied by No. 26 High Street. A mural tablet was placed on the front of the building, bearing what was probably regarded at the time as the armorial bearings of the burgh—a shield with a fess cheque and three roses, one in dexter chief, a second in sinister chief, and the third in middle base. It is said to have borne the date 1665, and is now in the Museum. The following is a representation of it.



On January 24, 1647, the following minute was passed by the Town Council: "The Baillies and Town Counsell appoints the meill market to be roped and the meill men in town and landward to pay for ilk peck as formerly, and both town and landward to pay for ilk sack ilk day xiid., by and attoure the ordinarie price for the pects, and the entries to be on the Fryday ensewing Candlemas nixt, and so yeirlie thereafter, and they appoint the yaird to be roped with the mercat: And it is declaired that in the said meill mercat there sall only be sold meill, groats, beins, and pease; and the customer of the custome booth is to have four pecks, twa half pecks, with four parts conform, and to lend the same to none but to those who have salt, lintseed, or such like to sell, the which are to remain within the custome booth." Twenty years later, January 24, 1667, the market was set to Alexander Cochrane, tailor, at a rental of 200 merks 33s. 4d. for the year.

Various statutes were passed by the Council respecting this market, one of which referred to dealers who put better meal at the top of their sacks than at the bottom, or mixed their meal with pease meal, both very ancient methods of defrauding the public, and referred to in Scotland as far back as 1249.[1] From a minute, under date January 31, 1637, there appears to have been a ladder kept in the meal market which was let out to the public at sixpence a day; the borrower, however, had to "give a pawn of the value of the ladder for the saiff return thereof."

The fleshers' stalls stood at the Cross, "opposite Robert Fork's property," but in May, 1655, they were ordered to be removed to a shed to be built "where the lister tree stands," and to be covered over with deals. By October, 1670, the "Flesh Market" had been established "at the north end of the Meeting House." On October 9, 1690, the Council ordered "the Meeting House to be thatched this winter," and resolved "to make the same a flesh market against May day next," but as, in 1692 and 1694, they agreed to let the Meeting

[1] Ancient Laws and Customs, p. 77.

House, and as only the north end of it is referred to in the minute of October 13, 1670, either only a part of the Meeting House was used as a flesh market, or by the year 1692 the market had been removed elsewhere.

Until the year 1658, the annual horse market or fair on St. James Day was held at Greenhill, but on July 13 in that year, the bailies and Town Council "concluded that the horse and kye market, that used to be holden on Greenhill yearly, at St. James's day, shall yearly in time coming be holden on St. Rollock's kirk lands and on the highways about the same." St. Rollock's kirk lands seem to have been found inconvenient, or perhaps some pious citizen had objected to the graveyard being put to such uses. Anyway, on March 11, 1661, the Town Council agreed to purchase from William Greenlees "that fauld of land at the Calsiend called Gilmour's fauld, for enlarging of the commountie of the said burgh, and for holding of St. James' Fair there for horse and nolt." They paid "auchteine score ten merks" for the fauld, and on May 2 following, resolved "that St. James' Fair this yeir and in tym coming sall be holden at the Calsiend betwixt the Lones and on Gilmour's fauld, and that the way there sould be mendit to that effect, and that the horse merket, if neid be, may come in to the Moss Raw Port." The place indicated is now St. James Place and Street, and the annual market has been held there ever since.

The references to prices in the Town Council Records are not so numerous as might have been expected. This may have been due to the absence of a Merchant Gild, and to the non-existence of crafts with exclusive privileges in the burgh; but what references do occur are interesting.

On October 14, 1603, it was ordained "that the quarter kaik of gude and sufficient aetmeil, whereof there sall be onlie fyve kaiks in the peck, and in ilk kaik three quarters allenarlie, be sauld for vi pennies the quarter. On October 11, 1610, the kaikes were to be sufficient and to be sold for vid. the quarter, and on November 25, 1645, when there was dearth and plague in the town, the price of "cake of bread" was two shillings.

In October, 1603, the price of a pound of candles was 3s. 4d., and all candlemakers were ordered to make penny candles, under a penalty of 20s. The following October, "all nicht licht," *i.e.*, tallow, was directed to be sold at 46s. 8d. the stone weight, and the "pound wecht of maid candle" at 3s. 4d. Five years later, the price of tallow fell to 43s. 4d. per stone. The pound of "maid candle" was still 3s. 4d.

On December 2, 1596, it was ordained that no "ostler" should sell ale at more than 14d. the pint. In October, 1603, the highest price allowed for ale was 2s. 3d. the gallon. Seven years later, it was 12d. the pint; and on November 25, 1645, 1s. 4d. a pint. Beer was then to be a plack dearer. In 1651, the price of ale and beer had been raised, by reason of the dearth then prevailing, to a "verie heich rate," and the magistrates ordained that "drinking beire" was not to be sold "deirer" than 2s. 3d., and ale than 2s.

The price of wine was fixed on May 9, 1605, at 6s. 8d. per pint. In 1676, Cuninghame of Craigends paid 5s. for a mutchkin, and 10s. for a choppin.

In 1594, "a laid of seid beir" was valued at 10 merks; a pair of shoes at 4s.; a linen collar at 4d.; hardin at 10d. the ell; linen at 6s. the ell; a peck of beir at 5s. 6d.; a day's work for two horses at 8s. 8d.; a boll of corn at 50s.; a sheaf of straw at 30d.; a sheep at 33s. 4d.; a plough at 10s.; two young hens at 6s. 8d.; half a carcass of beef at 5 merks; five ells of "gray claith" at 40s.

In 1595, the values mentioned are, among others—beir, two bolls 18 merks, 6s. 8d.; a firlot, 20s.; half a peck of meal, 11d.; five firlots beir, £6 13s. 4d.; two bolls of malt, 15 merks; "ane saip barell," 7s. 8d.; a blue bonnet, 12s.; "a new bukren apron," 3s.

Among the values mentioned in the following year is—a three year old mare, £14 10s. 10d. In 1597, two pecks of meal cost 13s.; a day's work at the plough brought 11d.; hens cost 6s. 8d. apiece; a boll of beir, £12; two pecks beir, 40s.; two cows were provided for a debt of £20; a black horse was sold for £20; a sheaf of oat straw cost 6s. 8d.;

a new plough, 40s.; six fat sheep, £14; an ell of unbleached small linen one ell wide, 13s. 2d. The tilling of half an acre of common land and half an acre of corn land cost 40s.; harrowing half an acre of land cost 5s. The price of a saddle was 16s. Two pounds of butter cost 9s.; a side of mutton, 8s.; the entrails of a "nout," 5s.; an eight year old horse, £30; a mart or carcass of beef, £8 13s. The fee for a maid servant for six months was 16s.

In 1598, "ane hagbit snappit and graithit," was valued at £8. "A kist and twa gabellis thairto," cost 20s. 8d. The half year's wage of a maid servant was 30s. money, half an ell of linen and a pair of shoes.

On August 14, 1599, meal was 7 merks a boll, and beir, £6.

In 1600, we have the following values—a horse, £20; a stand of clothes, £10; a furnished bed and clothes, £8; a long settle, 30s.; a kist, 30s.; a chandelier, 13s. 4d.; a silver ring, 20s.; "ane dudie scheit," 6s. 8d.; a sword, 40s.; a spear, 10s.; a spinning wheel, 20s.; a peat creel, 3s.; an axe, 5s.; a wombl, 2s.; a hand barrow, 40s.; a baking board, 5s.; a pewter plate, 10s.; a firlot measure, 20s.; a brass pan, 40s. Helen Gilmour was hired as a servant for six months for 40s. money, a pair of new shoes, 6s. 8d., an ell of hardin, 4s., and half an ell of linen, 6s. 8d. A pair of black "sattin breks" cost £10 3s. The money, as need hardly be said, is Scots.



CHAPTER XXVII.

MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT.

By the new charter of 1666, the bailies, Town Council, and community of Paisley were set free from the supervision and intervention of the Lords of Paisley, and became practically their own masters. Indications have already been given of the care and attention which the bailies and Town Council gave to the protection and increase of the rights and privileges of the community, and we have now to see how, under the new order of things set up by the charter of Charles II., they endeavoured to develop the resources at their command and to promote and protect the interests of the community over which they were placed.

As far back as the year 1294, James, the Steward of Scotland, gave the monks of Paisley the right to search for and win coal within the barony of Renfrew.[1] By his charter of erection, Abbot George Shaw, in 1490, conferred a similar privilege upon the provost, bailies, and community of the town, but restricted their right of search to within the limits he had marked off for their burgh, and added the condition, that, in the event of coal being found there, the convent should have as much as they required on paying a just proportion of the cost of procuring the coal.[2]

By this time coal had become an ordinary article of commerce in Scotland, and the Scottish Parliament had passed an Act which required municipal authorities to appoint "a lele man sworn to mete all gudis sallable in the water met als wele colis als uthir gudis."[3] According to Chalmers, coal was worked near Tarbolton, in Ayrshire, in 1497, and a pay-

[1] Reg. de Pas., 92. [2] See the charter.

[3] Acta. Parl. Scot., ii. 10, c. 15.

ment is recorded in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts in 1498, to "ane cole man to pas to Kyntyr to vesy gif colis may he wonnyne fra thare."[1] In 1563, the increasing export of coal from the country had caused an alarm to be raised, lest the supply should be exhausted, and an Act of Parliament was passed in that year restraining the export.

In Paisley, nothing appears to have been done in the way of ascertaining whether coal existed in the burgh lands till the year 1649, though, from the terms of his charter, it is evident that its existence was suspected by Abbot Shaw. On March 26, in the year mentioned, the bailies and Town Council directed James Cunningham to go to Riccarton, in order to obtain the services of "ane man reported to have greit skill of cole, to try if there be anie coall within the boundis of the Towne." The reports of the Riccarton miner appear to have been encouraging, for on June 3 following, ex-Bailie Alexander was appointed to "oversee the workers at the heuche for the space of eight days," for which he was to be paid at the rate of thirteen pence a day. But in the end of November, work at the "heuche" was suspended; and on January 26, 1652, the bailies and Town Council resolved to close the workings in the Gallow-green and "to fill one of them with moss stocks, fail, and timber." The probability is, the coal found was of inferior quality and the supply insufficient to make the working of it profitable. Still, in January, 1735, ex-Bailie George Storie took a five years' lease of "the coal within the unarable ground in the part called Gallow-green" at a rental of 209 merks yearly, except for the first year, for which the payment was to be half that sum. But in December he abandoned the lease, when the "coal heugh" was let by public auction to Thomas Kerr, merchant, at the annual rental of £180 Scots.[2] At the end of the first year, he also gave up his lease. He was then employed by the Town Council to manage the working.

[1] Caledonia, i. 388.

[2] The rest of the money in this paragraph is also Scots, except where otherwise marked.

During the first year of his management the Town Council laid out £73 11s. 3d., but, as the price of the coal sold amounted to £51 1s., there was a loss upon the undertaking of £22 10s. 3d., and the management was not continued beyond Beltane following. In October, 1741, the coal heugh was let at a rental of £5 15s.; but in September of the same year, it was re-let for three years at the increased rental of £8 12s. 6d. In 1745, however, the rent fell to £5 3s., and in 1748, to £12 Scots, or £1 sterling. On May 11, 1750, the working was leased to William Morrison for seven years, at a rental of £5, on condition that he should be free of his tack at the end of each year. A single year was enough for him. On June 28, 1751, the working was exposed to public competition, but no offer was made, and the enterprise was finally abandoned.[1]

In another direction the magistrates and Town Council were more successful. It has already been noted that, in 1610, "the new ruids above the Greenhill" were sold for the purpose of executing repairs on the Tolbooth, then declared to be, for the most part, in a ruinous condition. In 1655 and 1656, the Town Council had to part with other portions of their common land. In the former year, the old jealousy on the part of Renfrew had broken out afresh. It had manifested itself in 1648, when the representative of the royal burgh stood up in his place in Parliament and protested against the renewal of the town's charters. In 1654, John Porterfield, a burgess of Renfrew, and probably the collector of customs there, had made an attempt to exact customs at the "craft gait of Paisley" from two boats laden with herrings. Two years later, the burgh of Renfrew made a serious attack upon the burgesses of Paisley, and attempted to compel them to "cease from trading and merchandise." The litigation which followed continued to the end of 1657, and in order to meet the expenses, the Town Council sold, in March, 1655, seven half acres at the north-east of Greenhill, and in May, 1656, three acres and three roods more.

[1] Town Council Records, MS.

At the same time, though parting with their common land, they were endeavouring to buy up whatever land they could, that lay within the burgh, with the obvious intention of becoming their own superiors. Their first purchase was the lands of Snawdon or Sneddon. In 1628, these lands were in the possession of Semple of Beltrees,[1] but in 1655, together with the lands of Merksworth, they were in the hands of Robert Fork. On the lands of Snawdon there was a mansion, with the usual dovecot, and a fair amount of timber.[2] The purchase money was 5,550 merks, or £308 6s. 8d.

Five years later, an attempt was made to purchase three acres in Broomlands, belonging to William Paterson; but as the price asked was 1045 merks, or £58 1s. 1d. stg., and the Council were willing to give only £600 Scots, or £50 stg., and £20 Scots to Paterson's wife to buy a plaid, the negotiations fell through.

In 1675, the Town Council bought Caversbank, or, as it was formerly called, Sclattbank. In 1498, it was the property of Robert Cavers, one of the bailies of the town, and had continued in his family for some time. Its owner in 1675 was Gilbert Fork, from whom the Council bought it for 2000 merks, or £111 2s. 2d. stg.

The next purchase was Oakshawside. This was bought from Lord Dundonald in 1676 for 500 merks, or £27 15s. 6d. stg.

[1] Lochwinnoch Papers, ii. 120. See Valuation Roll of Cromwell.

[2] "1st November, 1655.—Sold to John Cuningham, turner, twenty-three plain trees in the Snawdoun of the best that for the present there are there for the sum of fifty merks money to be paid at Martinmas next, and he hes two years from this day to cut them."—T. C. R. Some of the timber grown on these lands was used in the erection of the parish church at Neilston, for on October 11, 1677, Robert Park was appointed to sue two men named Kirkton and Dunlop "for the rest of the price of the town's timber they got to Neilston kirk."—T. C. R. The Snawdoun dovecot seems to have been of considerable size. It was let in 1690 at a rental of £20 Scots a year. When two members of the Council "sighted" it on April 9, 1660, they found in it "of old and young dooes forty-five pairs."—T. C. R.

In 1734, "a yaird callit Aiket's yaird with an acre and three roods of land in Causeyside with some houses and lands there," was bought from Robert Alexander of Newton. It was bought for the purpose of forming a street between the High Street and Causeyside Street, which was to be "of seven elnes in breadth." From the Council Records it appears that in Aiket's yaird there was a number of fruit trees. They were sold by auction for £8 10s. Scots. A number of ash and plane trees brought £27 17s. 6d. Scots. "A birket tree lying there," was sold for 5s. Scots. The street formed was called New Street.

But the most extensive purchase made by the Town Council was the lands of Ferguslie. These had at one time belonged to Wallace, the husband of the good-wife of Ferguslie. Afterwards they belonged to Cochrane of Ferguslie, by whom they were forfeited. On July 6, 1748, they were put up for auction in Edinburgh, when they were bought by John Hare and Robert Fulton, on behalf of the Town Council of Paisley, for £33,000 Scots, or £2,750 sterling. After retaining possession of them until the year 1805, the Town Council sold them, along with the superiority of Carriagehill, which had been bought in 1780 from Lord Dundonald for £63 11s. 8d. The two estates brought £12,000, leaving the handsome profit of £7,187.

In 1833, the heritable property belonging to the burgh—including lands, houses, churches, etc.,—was valued at £53,914 8s. 7d., while the feu duties amounted to £359 10s. 4d.

The Cart was looked upon as the "craft gait" to the town, and in 1661, the bailies and Town Council, with characteristic diligence, set to work to improve it. The means they took seem now ridiculous, but they were no more ridiculous than those which were adopted "to cleanse the water of Clyde." On July 30, 1661, the Town Council appointed "two men and two horses to wade and gather the calsie stanes out of the water of Cart," and "to bair the same." In the following year, on June 18, it was resolved "that the Town, with the concurrence of others,

sall weed the water from the kirk foot of Inchinnan up to Snawdon yaird head." These were not heroic measures, but they were quite on a level with what Glasgow was doing with the Clyde. On May 28, 1600, the Town Council of Glasgow directed their master of works to begin "to the casting of the water"—that is, to clear the channel of stones. On October 15, 1605, they enjoined their "water sergeant" not to allow stones or ballast to be cast out of boats into the river, and to prosecute those who did so before the bailies. On August 14, 1643, the same Town Council granted a commission to two persons "to aggrie with the workmen to take the staines out of the water at the Brig, and to take the stobs out of the water on the south side." It is probable, indeed, that Paisley was simply following Glasgow's example. At any rate, their efforts were similar. If the Cart was obstructed with stones and weeds, the Clyde suffered from a too great abundance of stones and sand, and neither of them seems to have had depth more than sufficient to allow comparatively small boats to navigate them. In the early years of the seventeenth century, herrings came up the Clyde almost as far as the Bridge of Glasgow.[1]

In the middle of the eighteenth century, it was proposed to take further steps for the deepening of the Cart, and application was made to Parliament for an Act authorizing the bailies and Town Council to levy a tax of two pennies Scots on every pint of ale vended within the burgh and suburbs, and to apply the proceeds of the tax to this and other purposes. The deepening of the Cart was put as the first object, and the "other purposes" came after. The Act was obtained, June 24, 1753, and was to be in force for a period of thirty-one years. But the people were not so bibulous as the Town Council imagined, and the sum realized by the impost fell considerably short of what had been anticipated. Nor was much of it spent upon what was

[1] Sir James Marwick, The River Clyde and the Harbours of Glasgow, 8-14.

represented in the Act as its primary purpose.[1] When the accounts came to be reckoned up, the Town Council found that they were £1450 in debt. Here is the way in which the money was spent:—

1753.	Expense in obtaining the Act, - -	£271	1	8
1754.	Building of the Grammar School, -	298	0	0
1758.	Building Prison, Courthouse, etc., -	1,053	7	0
1767.	Building Flesh Market, Slaughterhouse, etc., - - - - - - -	915	10	9
1774.	Deepening of River, - - - - -	86	6	11
		£2,624	6	4

The Town Council proposed to get the Act renewed, probably with a view of continuing the work on the Cart, but the opposition to the proposal was so strong, that after they and their opponents had spent £500 in the contest, the proposal was dropped. All the same, the Town Council by

[1] There was nothing very exceptional in this. The worst case I have come across happened in Dundee. The provost and Town Council there obtained an Act of the same kind in 1707, and in 1819 Lord Dunfermline reported upon it, on behalf of a select committee of Parliament, as follows:—"This tax"—the twopenny tax on every pint of beer sold within the burgh—"was laid on at first for the liquidation of certain *specific debts* then due, and the purposes of its continuation have been not less specific, though few of these purposes have been effected. The last renewal, in 1802, proceeds on the statement, 'That the money had been duly applied and that great progress had been made in the works directed to be done.' It enacts that the tax shall continue to be levied as formerly, and applied as aforesaid; it appoints commissioners to see the monies properly applied; it directs an account of the state of the debt to be laid before the commissioners at their first meeting, and to be continued every year during the continuance of the Act. But, according to the evidence before your committee, there has *never* been one meeting of the commissioners; no account is produced, showing the actual state of the debt; the monies are not applied to the extinction of the specific debts authorized, but to the general debt of the burgh; and the building or hospital ('one of the works directed to be done') of which it was said in 1802 that great progress had been made in turning it into a workhouse, had been demolished in 1793."—Report on the Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1819, p. 30.

no means departed from the idea of improving the navigation of their "water gait." They kept it before them, or, rather, it was kept before them by the action of the Glasgow Town Council in building jetties in the Clyde, by which the mouth of the Cart became encumbered with sandbanks. For twenty-two years nothing was done; but on November 29, 1796, the magistrates laid before the Town Council "a plan and profile of the River Cart from its junction with the Clyde below Inchinnan," drawn by Mr. Robert Whitworth, together with an estimate of the cost of carrying out the "plan and profile." The main part of Mr. Whitworth's plan was the formation of a canal to avoid the shallow water at Inchinnan Bridge and the bridge itself, and to construct a drawbridge twenty-four feet wide across the canal, on the line of the road from Glasgow to Greenock. Here and there, too, in the wide part of the river below the Knock ford, and elsewhere in the river, low stone jetties were to be built. The bed of the river was to be deepened by "dragging" or by "ballasting," that is, by cutting up the bed of the river by a ballast machine. The cost of the whole undertaking, which was to give a depth of seven feet at ordinary spring tides, was estimated at £1,901 2s. After careful deliberation, the Council approved the scheme, and an Act of Parliament was obtained authorizing it to be carried out, and the Council to borrow £3000, and to levy an impost of eightpence per ton on merchandise, and fivepence per ton on coal carried on the river. The Town Council set to work with great energy, and spent £3,804 12s. 3d., but the work was not wholly successful, and much was left over for another generation to do. Another attempt to improve the navigation of the river was made during the second half of the nineteenth century. Much money was spent, but the expectations of the promoters of the enterprise have not been realized.

The question of the pollution of the Cart is very old, and is not settled yet. The first reference to it in the Town Council minutes occurs under date September 10, 1594. It was then easily settled. An Act was passed by the Town Council forbidding anyone to place "lymit hydes in the

water of Cairt abuif William Lang's duir under a penalty of 20s." Some time later, complaints were made of the pollution of the Espedair, but an Act of the Town Council appears to have been quite sufficient to protect it.

Besides trying to deepen the Cart, and to keep its waters pure, the Town Council took steps to make the passage across it easier. They did this by the simple process of laying stepping-stones through the water from S. Mirin's Wynd foot to the [washing] green, and appointed William Love and Robert Park "to see the same done." According to tradition, it was across the stepping-stones at the Black ford that people were wont to pass in summer to S. Mirin's and the Abbey Churches. Before the building of the bridge, it was across this ford too that the traffic from the south, along the old Barrhead Road and Causeyside Street and Gordon's Loan, reached the ancient village of Paisley, and thence passed on to Glasgow. The stepping-stones laid down under the supervision of Messrs. Love and Park came, in course of time, to be called "Traill's Dripping," because the men from his dye-house close by, used to stand upon them when washing their yarn in the river.

When the original bridge near the Cross was built, is unknown. Its erection has been attributed to several of the abbots before George Shaw. After it was rebuilt, at the close of the sixteenth century, it stood till about the year 1702, when the eastern arch fell in. From the want of funds, the Town Council were unable to repair it. They applied to the Earl of Dundonald to use the stipend of the minister—the Abbey Church being then vacant—for the purpose of meeting the expense; but as his lordship declined, and as contributions from the adjoining counties were not coming in as rapidly as was expected, the Town Council suspended the operations they had begun upon it, and resolved to leave the bridge "unrepaired this season till the necessary supplies be ingathered." Some part of the repairs had already been done at the eastern arch, but it had fallen in again, and it was not till the end of the summer of 1703 that the repairs were completed, the traffic across the

river being conducted in the meantime either by the Black or the Sneddon ford. Eighty years later, it was found necessary to take the bridge down, on account of its unsafe condition, when it was rebuilt at a cost of £779 5s. 11d. The bridge was repaired in 1827, and again in 1882, when it was widened and transformed into the present handsome structure under the superintendence of Mr. Linn, of Belfast.

The Abbey, or Abercorn bridge was built in 1763. It was widened in 1829, and rebuilt in 1881. The remaining bridge over the Cart, the Sneddon, or St. James', bridge was built in 1760. In consequence of its defective structure, it was taken down and rebuilt in 1792. The present bridge was built in 1884.

Owing to the thatched roofs and wooden fronts of many, or most of the houses, and to the chimney tops seldom rising to more than a few inches above the roof, fires in the burgh were frequent, and sometimes extensive. The measures which were first taken by the Town Council in order to cope with them, though primitive, were the best known at the time. On December 16, 1670, "they concludit that there sall be twentie four leathern buckets for staunching of fire made"; but with characteristic caution they also "concludit" "that John Park younger sall employ James Gairdner, cordiner, in Glasgow, to make ane, to be sein and considered with the price, and thereafter the same or remainder to be made conform." On January 4, 1677, they appointed "six iron cleiks to be made for pulling down of houses in caise of fire, and to cause buy and make two ledders." In June, 1729, the lowness of the chimney tops attracted their attention, and an Act was passed, directing all "heritors and tenementars," "whose lum heads are equal with the rigging to raise them two feet" by the first day of September following, under a penalty of £10 Scots. This was probably done in consequence of a fire which had broken out and destroyed the houses of no fewer than one hundred and thirty families in Causeyside Street. Four years later, on Saturday, June 2, 1733, another fire occurred, which was almost as disastrous. It appears to have broken out at the head of the shoe market,

and to have destroyed the whole of St. Mirin's Wynd. Quite recently the town had sent contributions to Kilmarnock to help the people there to repair the ravages done by a fire. The bailies and Town Council appealed in their distress to the neighbouring towns and parishes for assistance. Thirteen of the parishes in the Presbytery, including that of Paisley, sent in response to the appeal, £180 16s. 11d. stg. Glasgow sent £40. Five weeks after the fire, the Town Council passed the following resolution, which is of interest as illustrating what has already been said as to the way in which most of the houses of the period were built:—

"13 July, 1733.—Considering that the streets of this burgh are very strait and narrow in many places which cannot easily be made wider and broader, and that a great many houses fronting to the street are thatched with straw or heather, and that some of them are built with timber fronts, which are ready fuel to the fire in such conflagration, that when such accidents have happened, all means used for preventing the spreading thereof have proved ineffectual: Do therefore enact and ordain that no person build houses fronting to the street in time coming within the ports of this burgh or the places where the ports were, but such as shall be built of stone walls both back and fore; covered on the roof with slate, tile, lead or stone, and that all houses which are at present ruinous or shall hereafter become ruinous, be built and covered in manner forsaid, and that all houses of two storeys high fronting to the street hereafter to be built or repaired without the said ports, shall in like manner be built of stone and covered with slate, tile, lead or stone in manner foresaid."

Good as these regulations were, they were not rigorously enforced. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century, some of the houses in St. Mirin's Wynd were still thatched with straw.

Twenty-seven years after the above resolution was passed, the Town Council took a more aggressive step in connection with the extinction of fires. In January, 1760, they provided the town with a fire engine. It was sent down from London by sea, and a "number of the principal inhabitants of the

town" contributed towards its cost. A few years later, the town was in possession of two fire engines. The existing fire-brigade establishment was built in 1899.

The new street to be built in Aiket's yaird, as we have seen, was, according to the Town Council minutes of March 12, 1734, to be "seven elnes in breadth." On July 22, 1746, Mr. Robert Fuller, the proprietor of the orchard formerly belonging to the abbey, informed the Town Council that "he had sold and alienated part of the lands of Orchard Yard, which pertained to him, to different persons, in several portions and divisions, and *inter alia*, that he had sold several tenements or steadings, reaching from the east side to the west side of Orchard Yard; and had saved eighteen and a half feet in breadth, as a vacuum between the steadings on the north and south, for a street or lane leading from the Causeyside to Churchhill." The Council made no objection to the narrowness of the street. Eighteen and a half feet appeared to them a sufficient width. A street seventy or eighty feet wide would have filled them or any other similar body of men at that time with amazement.[1]

One effect of the building of the new streets just referred to was the removal of St. Mirin's Port. With the opening up of New Street through Aiket's yard, it was no longer of use, and on December 5, 1733, the Council ordered its removal. Six days later, the stones of it were sold by public auction for £8 Scots. The port at the west end of the bridge, the "Brig Port," was directed to be removed on December 8, 1763, as "useless," and "obstructing the view betwixt the town and Smithhills." The West Port was probably taken down, if not before, in 1807, when the hospital was removed and the present Orr Square built.

[1] The dates given for other streets and parts of the burgh are as follow: Maxwellton, about the middle of the eighteenth century; Charleston, about the beginning of the nineteenth century; Prussia Street, Gordon's Lane, the west part of Canal Street, Broomlands, Castle Street, and Wellmeadow are said to have been built about the same time as Charleston. Gordon's Lane is probably much older, or, rather, the old Gordon's Lane was.

The Town Council still continued their efforts towards improving the sanitary condition of the burgh. In May, 1661, they fulminated against the ancient and popular practice "of peoples laying out their foulzie in middens at their door chieks on the foregait," declaring it to be "unbecoming, uncomely, and dishonest to the town," and ordained all such middens to be made in the "backyards," or to be led away within forty-eight hours. In October, 1670, they forbade "foulzie" to be sold to "any outtintown's man or person"; and twenty years later, on October 9, 1690, they ordered every inhabitant to "cleanse the High Street foranent his own dwelling and heritage the Thursday before the Fair of Paisley and on the first Thursday of every month in all time coming." Of the cleansing of the other streets, nothing is said, and it is doubtful whether their condition was in any way improved. But on July 24, 1771, the Town Council at last took the matter into their own hands, and entered into an agreement with Francis Douglas, Abbotsinch, whereby he obtained the exclusive privilege "to clat the whole streets and lanes in the town and to carry off the dung, ashes, straw and other garbage that shall be laid down without the front or street doors," at his own expense, for three years. This was unquestionably a step in the right direction; but the "backyards" were allowed to remain in all their original nastiness, and many years had to elapse before any really effective measures were adopted.[1] During the second half of the nineteenth century, drains were regularly laid down throughout the burgh; Causeyside Street was widened and, for the most part, rebuilt; and, at the time of writing, the High Street, Broomlands, and other streets are being widened and rebuilt, under powers conferred upon the Town Council by Act of Parliament.

[1] The filthy condition of the town during the seventeenth century may account for the number of dogs at large in the streets, many of them being, according to a minute of the Town Council under date May 7, 1683, mad. The following year, the Council had to issue an order, directing all mastiffs to be muzzled during the day time and to be carefully "housed" at night, in order "to secure them from wronging the burgesses."

As in royal burghs, the bailies and Town Council had to protect the rights and privileges of the inhabitants against the encroachments of strangers and non-burgesses, or as they are called, "outtintown" or "outentown" men, and numerous Acts were passed against them. On October 9, 1651, it was enacted that no unfreeman should have liberty to buy linen cloth, skins, or hides brought into the market to sell, before one o'clock in the afternoon. Any unfreeman buying earlier could be forced to part with his purchase by any freeman at the same price that he had paid for it. On January 13, 1661, an Act was ratified, compelling all "outentown burgesses," having shops or booths in the town, to take up their residence within the burgh. The object was obviously to make them share the public burdens with the inhabitants. By an earlier statute, October 9, 1656, it was provided that no "moss rooms," the parts of the moss where peats were cut, should be let to "any outentown persons, whether they be burgesses or not." In 1706, it was discovered that strangers were clandestinely bringing inferior malt into the town on Wednesdays, when the visitors had no opportunity of examining it. To prevent this, the Council "enacted that all strangers' malt be set down in the meal market on Tuesdays and Thursdays before noon, in order to be sighted and surveyed by the visitors," and prohibited the burgesses from buying any of it, till it had been "sighted." The Act was renewed in 1727, and in 1733 further regulations were passed anent brewing forbidding the process to be carried on in "inconvenient brew houses," and requiring all who brewed ale for sale or sold ale or beer to obtain a licence. The Act further ordained that if those who held licences were "convicted of keeping bad houses," they were to be discharged from brewing in all time coming.

In 1658, the Town Council granted the first of a series of charters, which, if the town had been a royal burgh, would have carried with them considerable rights and privileges. In the royal burghs similar charters were known as Seals of Cause, and conferred upon the trades or crafts obtaining them, the exclusive right to the practice of their trades in the

burgh, and of being represented on the Town Council by their Deacon Convener. The charter granted in Paisley enabled the different trades to form themselves into societies, having for their chief purposes the protection of their trades, the exclusion of strangers from carrying on their crafts within the burgh, the maintenance of their decayed members, the support of the widows and children of members deceased, and the education of their children. An entrance fee was charged, and a yearly contribution had to be made to the funds of the society to which the member belonged. Each society was presided over by a Boxmaster or Collector, who was assisted by a committee. The first charter granted was obtained by the tailors as early as the year 1658. The other trades to which charters were granted were—the shoemakers, December 16, 1701; the weavers, October 1, 1702; the maltmen, October 16, 1703; the wrights, June 14, 1723; the merchants, March 12, 1725; the masons, May 9, 1749; the fleshers, April 29, 1751; the hammermen, May 15, 1761; the bakers, November 10, 1777; and the brewers, April 13, 1781. Some of these societies still exist, and all of them have done excellent work.

Down to the year 1740, the poor of the town continued to be supported by the proceeds of the hire of the mortcloths and salvers; but in that year the population of the burgh had risen to about 4,000, and the number of the poor and indigent had apparently increased at a greater ratio. In consequence of this, the income from the mortcloths was no longer sufficient for their maintenance. To meet the difficulty, the Town Council first of all directed that all beggars not natives of the town, should be expelled from it. Next, they forbade landlords to let houses to poor strangers. Then, they directed a list to be drawn up of "their own proper poor within the town," and another "of the inhabitants who were able to contribute of their substance, in order to their being stented for the maintenance of the foresaid poor." They further prohibited begging from door to door. Lastly, they appointed seven stent masters and collectors to collect the tax, and, along with the ministers and Kirk-

Session, to distribute the sum raised among the poor, and to attend to the education and apprenticing of their children. The Town Council of 1740 thus laid the basis of the system which regulated the relief of the poor within the burgh for upwards of a century.

Previous to this, in the year 1739, the municipal business had grown to such an extent, that two bailies were found to be insufficient or unable to deal with all the court cases, and on May 11 in that year, it was resolved to appoint a third bailie, and to elect two additional councillors. At the Head Court, therefore, in the following October, three bailies were chosen, and sixteen town councillors. All burgesses were eligible for election, but all burgesses did not choose to serve, and the magistrates and Town Council were often put to great inconvenience by persons refusing to accept office after they had been elected. In order to put a stop to this, an Act was passed, on October 4, 1746, which enacted "that every inhabitant who is a burgess of the burgh, who shall be judged to be qualified to be a magistrate, treasurer, or councillor, and shall thereto be elected in due form, shall be obliged, to accept of and serve in the office to which he is elected, and that for the space of one year, under the penalty of £10 stg. for a bailie, £8 for a treasurer, £3 for a councillor, and £1 for every other office-bearer, to be exacted without any defalcation, and that within ten days after intimation thereof." "Recusants" refusing to pay the fine, were ordered to be imprisoned until the fine was paid. Fourteen days after the fines were paid, the magistrates and Town Council were to meet, and fill up the vacancies by a fresh election.

This, however, was not the first time the magistrates and Town Council had experienced difficulty in filling up the municipal offices. Probably the most singular instance of a burgess being unwilling to serve, occurred in 1684, while James VII. was upon the throne. In that year, Robert Pow was elected treasurer; but the officers reported that whenever they went to "warn" him to attend the Council meetings, both the outer and the inner doors of his house were closed.

Pow, it appears, knew that he had been appointed, and was always on the outlook for the officers coming to notify him of the meetings of the Council, and whenever he saw them coming, he closed the doors against them, in order to prevent them serving him with the notice. On this coming to the ears of the bailies, they ordered him to be apprehended and kept in prison until the fine imposed upon him was paid, and "his burgess ticket to be given up on the market day immediately after sermon." They next appointed Thomas Peter and David Wylie, but each of them declined, and paid the fine of £10 Scots, and not, as in the case of Pow, of £100 Scots. No fewer than seven other individuals had to be appointed and fined, before one could be got to accept the office.

Previous to Michaelmas, 1688, the Council were directed by the Privy Council to postpone the municipal elections. In 1684, the Town Council had appealed to the Privy Council against Pow; but in 1688, Mr. Ezekiel and John Fork, whom the Town Council regarded as persons "not fit to serve in any station of public trust within the town," had gone to Edinburgh to find fault with them, and to induce the Privy Council to cause the Town Council election to be proceeded with. The Town Council despatched Hew Snodgrass to Edinburgh, with a letter to the Chancellor, informing him of the former misbehaviour of Ezekiel and Fork towards the Government, and vindicating the character of the magistracy of the town. Snodgrass was not altogether unsuccessful, for he reported a few days later, that the Chancellor "continued" the elections all the same, and the magistrates and councillors expressed themselves as "contented therewith."

As might be expected, the Town Council had still to deal with their defaulting members, and fines continued to be levied upon the unpunctual and absent. At the Michaelmas Court in 1705, the fines were increased, and in order that the members might be fully advised of the meetings of the Council, and have no excuse for being absent or unpunctual, the town bell was ordered to be rung as a summons to them.

This practice continued till about the middle of the nineteenth century.

What steps were taken by the magistrates for the watching of the town during the early part of its history, except during the prevalence of the pest, is not precisely known.[1] The first notice of any systematic plan for its watching during the night-time, that occurs in the Town Council minutes, is under date January 7, 1661. It was then "concluded that there be ane nightlie watch heirefter in the town during the Baillies' and Councill's pleasure, consisting of threttein persons: Twelve to be on the guard and ane to command: that their entrie shall be nightlie at the ringing of the ten hours bell. They are to continue on guard till sex hours in the morning nightlie: The said guard is to send twa or thrie of their number nightlie once or twice throw the Calsiesyde: The officers are to warn ilk threttein persons, begining in the Smiddiehills, be vicissitude and turns about throw the town, and ilk person who fails to come on the watche, being lawfullie warned, is to pay to the guard of that night xxs to be exacted and disposed upon be themselves." These regulations are closely similar to those which had been in force from of old in the royal burghs, and were probably aforetime in force in Paisley, but had been allowed to fall into desuetude.

Shortly after the passing of the Test Act, the Town Council, anxious for the protection of their fellow-townsmen, and probably for their own, resolved to apply to the Privy Council for powers to judge and dispose of any cases under the Act, which might arise within the town. Their application

[1] It is probable, however, that in this, as in many other things, they followed, as they were bound by the charter of Erection to do, the practice of the royal burghs. The law then was: "It is for to wyt of ilke house wythin the burgh in the whilk thar wonnys [dwells] ony that in the tym of wakyng [watching] aw [ought] of reasoun to cum furth, thar sal ane wachman be haldyn to cum furth when that the wakstaffs gais fra dure to dure, wha sal be of eylde, and sal gang til his wache wyth twa waponys at the ryngyng of the courfeu and sua gate sal wache wysly and besily til the dawyng of the day. And gif ony hereof failye, he sal pay iiiid. outtane wedous" [except widows].—Anc. Laws, 40.

tion appears to have been refused. No doubt in their hands the Test and other obnoxious Acts would have been administered with the greatest discretion, and also with the greatest leniency; and this the Government probably knew. Failing in this, the Town Council did what they could to disarm the suspicions of the Government by repressing all open opposition to it, and by making a show of zeal in its interest. On July 21, 1684, a number of "vagrant rebels" passed through the town. The magistrates did not arrest them, but sent off one of their number, along with the treasurer, in all haste to consult the bishop about them. Peter Workman, a burgess, was heard to abuse the Government. The magistrates promptly bound him over never to be heard "to speak or reflect against the established Government."



CHAPTER XXVIII.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY.

William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen in London on February 13, 1689, and in Edinburgh on April 11 following.

Among the first Acts of the new sovereigns was one to alter the oath of allegiance, and another to rectify the abuses which had been introduced into the method of appointing magistrates in the burghs by the despotic governments of their predecessors. The Estates ordered new magistrates to be elected by the burgesses, who were required to give in subscribed lists on the day of election. Apparently the order referred to royal burghs only, and in September, 1689, a petition was presented from the town to the Privy Council, praying that the same privileges might be conferred upon the burgesses of Paisley. The petition bears that "the burgesses had been deprived of their privilege to elect their own magistrates, that while under the yoke of arbitrary power by reason of the oaths that were imposed upon persons in public trusts, very unsufficient and malignant magistrates had been set over them, and that those who had the present exercise of the magistracy over them, were countenanced by the late Chancellor without any election." The petition was granted, and in September, 1689, a regular poll election of magistrates and councillors was held under the direction of William Cuninghame of Craigends, and George Houston of Johnstone, the assessors appointed by the Privy Council.

No part of the country had suffered so much at the hands of Charles II. and James VII., as the western counties of Scotland, and nowhere was the accession of William and Mary received with greater joy; nor was a more enthusiastic

spirit of loyalty anywhere evoked, towards their persons and government. When the Convention for establishing the new regime met in Edinburgh, the men of Renfrewshire marched thither to support it, and when their presence was no longer necessary, having received the thanks of the Estates, they returned to their homes, having on their banner a Bible and other devices, with the words, "For Reformation according to the Word of God." The Convention offered to compensate them for their services, but they proudly replied that they had come to serve their country, and not to impoverish it.

In Paisley, though here and there among the inhabitants were those who favoured the Stuart cause, the Town Council willingly contributed a considerable sum of money for the maintenance of the royal army. One John Peitter, a weaver, who used "unchristian speeches against the present Government," was promptly clapped in the Tolbooth, and threatened with the loss of his freedom, and banishment, if he repeated his offence.

To the military exigencies of the Government of William and Mary, we owe the Poll Tax Roll. It was drawn up in consequence of the Act for Poll Money passed by the Scottish Parliament in 1695, and imposing a tax of six shillings upon all persons above the age of sixteen, except those who were living on charity. Cottars exercising a trade had to pay six shillings more, while merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen, Lords, Viscounts, and others, had to pay larger sums. The original MS. Rolls for the county of Renfrew are in the charter chest of the Town Council of Paisley. Those for the burgh of Paisley contain an exact list of all for whom the tax was exigible, and of those who were responsible for its payment—parents having to pay for their children above sixteen, if they were members of their households, and employers for their servants.

From this authentic source we learn that, in 1695, there were within the burgh 571 males, and 558 females above sixteen years of age, in addition to those who were supported by charity. Of the females, 47 were widows. The number

of families and dwelling-houses was 460. Fifty-seven of the families employed one female servant; sixteen, two; three had three, and one four. Eight families had male servants. The wages of female servants varied from £2 Scots yearly to £38 Scots. The greatest number (26) had £12 Scots; only one had £38 Scots, or £3 3s. 4d. stg. As to callings, there was one individual in each of the following: baker, barber, chamberlain, cadger, dragoon, glazier, gunner, glover, writer's clerk. There were 3 apothecaries, 2 church officers, 5 carriers, 33 shoemakers, 5 coopers, 2 doctors of medicine, 2 drummers, 7 fleshers, 4 gardeners, 3 house merchants, 2 dyers, 4 millers, 21 malsters, 2 masons, 41 merchants, 6 mealmen, 2 messengers, 4 town officers, 11 smiths, 2 soldiers, 2 sheriff officers, 29 tailors, 20 workmen, 2 wigmakers, 8 writers, and 66 weavers. There were other 32 weavers in the landward part of the parish.

When the country was under the spell of Paterson's schemes, and individuals and corporations were subscribing wildly to them, the bailies and Town Council, with characteristic caution, subscribed only £100 to the Indian and Darien Company. Glasgow subscribed £3,000, and Dumfries £5,000. Claud Hamilton of Newton, Paisley, subscribed £100. From an entry in the Town Council Records, under date January 28, 1698, it appears that the Town Council was employed in the more profitable business of private money lending. For "a year's rent" of 1,000 merks, one Craigmuir, elder, paid the treasurer 50 merks.

On the question of the Union between England and Scotland, the Town Council appears to have taken up a neutral attitude. At any rate, there is apparently no reference to the question in the Records, and such may probably be assumed as being the attitude they took up towards it. Elsewhere, as in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dumfries, there were serious riots; but the people of Paisley, or at least a number of them, though opposed to the Union, contented themselves apparently with employing more constitutional methods. On November 21, 1706, an address was presented

to Parliament[1] from Paisley against it. The Town Council appears to have had nothing to do with it. It bears to be an "Address of the Heritors, Burgesses, Minister and other inhabitants of Paisley . . . against an union with England in terms of the Articles." Those who signed this document, probably soon after saw reason to change their opinion on the matter. Paisley was one of the first places in Scotland to benefit by the Union.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Town Council had a vote in the election of the Knight or Baron of the shire, and were in the habit of sending one of their number to Renfrew to record it. At the election in 1743, their right to vote was challenged by Sir Michael Stewart, who presented a petition to the Lords of Session against it. When the case was heard, however, "the house having acquiesced to sustain the vote, the objection was passed from by the party and allowed to be withdrawn."[2] On July 23, 1747, the Council appointed Thomas Ker, one of the bailies, to go to Renfrew on the following day, and "vote for what candidate he shall think proper," to represent the shire of Renfrew in Parliament. On other occasions, as at the elections in 1714 and 1722, no such liberty was allowed the delegate. He was instructed by the Town Council for whom his vote was to be given on their behalf.

When the Earl of Mar raised the standard of the Chevalier at Braemar, in 1715, the inhabitants of Paisley, though their town owed its earlier prosperity to the Stewards of Scotland, did not forget the bitter experience through which they had had to pass during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother; and, as might be expected from those who had taken so active a part in the Convention of 1689, they threw themselves with zeal into the cause of the Hanoverian Government, and did what they could to oppose and repress the rebellion. As soon as the intentions of the Chevalier were known, or within five days after the death of Queen

[1] Acta Parl. Scot., xiii. 333.

[2] Acta Parl. Scot., xi. 39.

Anne, the Town Council resolved to appoint a guard to keep watch over the town by night, and ordained all the inhabitants to have all their arms in readiness.[1] They next appointed Bailie Paterson to buy "two pairs of colours," and to have the town's arms put thereon. Three weeks later, a number of the inhabitants undertook to "outreik men," and "to pay them sixpence each day during two or three months, less or more, as need shall require," "for the defence of our Sovereign and our own sacred and civil interests." On September 17, in response to a circular from the Duke of Argyll, the Town Council undertook to provide and pay for twenty men, who were to join the royal army at Stirling, and agreed to make every man who volunteered for the war a full burgess, thus forestalling what was done in quite recent years by London, Glasgow, and Dundee, when the volunteers from these cities returned from the war in South Africa. In all, Paisley claimed to have raised, disciplined, and sent to the assistance of the royal army, one hundred and forty men. Twenty of them were sent to Stirling, and one hundred and twenty went to Glasgow, and from thence to Dumbarton. There they joined a number of men similarly raised from Ayrshire, and some of the royal navy, and proceeded with them to Luss on Loch Lomond, in search of M'Gregor and his men. The M'Gregors they failed to find, but they seized a number of their boats and returned with them to Dumbarton. The twenty who went to Stirling were probably at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and appear to have accompanied the Duke of Argyll in his pursuit of Mar.

Equally spirited was the loyalty of the inhabitants during the rising of 1745. When Charles Edward reached Glasgow, the Town Council learned that a portion of his force was to be sent to Paisley. From Glasgow he exacted £10,500 stg., and as resistance was out of the question, the Town Council of Paisley, on December 28, appointed a committee to negotiate as to the sum the town might be called upon to

[1] Town Council Records, August 5, 1715.

pay. The sum demanded was £1,000, but it was subsequently reduced to £500, for which a receipt signed by Murray of Broughton was given. The money was raised by loans from several individuals. As soon as the Stuart Prince left Glasgow, the volunteers of Paisley joined those of Glasgow, and were present at the battle of Falkirk, on January 17, 1746, where they are said to have shown great courage. A number of them lost their lives, but the flag, which the ensign, John Renfrew, a native of Paisley, "nobly preserved," was brought back to the town, and along with the two used in 1715, was for many years unfurled on the King's birthday, and at other times of rejoicing. Only one individual from Paisley is known to have joined the standard of the Stuart on this occasion, and that was Cochrane of Ferguslie. He had been "out" also in 1715.

As the fines exacted by Murray of Broughton on behalf of the Stuart Prince, had been refunded to Glasgow and Dumfries, the Town Council, in November, 1749, petitioned the King, praying that the £500 they had paid to Murray, might be refunded to them, but in vain. They next raised an action against Murray for the sum, but here again they failed. At last they drew up a spirited memorial to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, in which they pointed out the services they had rendered in 1715, as well as in 1745, and the loss they had sustained in connection with their law-suit against Murray of Broughton, and the unequal treatment they had received, as compared with Glasgow and Dumfries. But success in the matter was not to be theirs. The Lords of His Majesty's Treasury were deaf to their appeal, and they had to rest contented with the conviction that they had done their duty and were not rewarded, at least by the country they had served.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE NEWTOWN.

The boundaries of the ancient burgh of Paisley, with the exception of its more ancient part in Seedhill, were, on the east and south-east, the Cart and the Espedair Burn. The road across the Black Ford at the Bladda probably ran on through the old village of Paisley to Glasgow. At the east end of the old bridge were the Smithhills, or Old Smithhills, from which the road seems to have turned north towards Renfrew, and probably ran along Fisher Row to the Wallneuk, where in all likelihood a branch turned east and ran by Incle Street and Crossflat to Glasgow. According to one account, Fisher Row followed the line of the present Lawn Street; but, according to another, it ran between that street and New Smithhills. When it was formed, there is no indication; but, with the exception of Old Smithhills, it may be regarded as probably the oldest street in the Newtown. There were, of course, the two Crossflats—Crossflat and Nether Crossflat—as far back as the time of Abbot Crichton; but these were rather suburbs of the ancient village.

The next oldest street in the Newtown is probably the Abbey Close, which appears to go back to shortly after the Reformation. That it did not exist in the time of the monks, may be taken as certain. In 1761, ten pence was paid by Mr. Kibble, Lord Dundonald's factor, for "incidents at three different meetings with Steward and others anent taking down the remains of the old houses in the Close."[1] This

[1] Almost all the statements of fact contained in this chapter are taken from MS. "Accompts of Charge and Discharge between the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Dundonald, and James Kibble, writer in Paisley, his factor, with regard to his intromissions with the Rents and feu duties of his Lordship of Paisley for the Crofts and years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760, and arrears of Crofts 1756 and precedings." MS., pp. 40.

was two hundred years after the Reformation; and assuming that the houses here spoken of had existed for a hundred and forty years, that would make the date of their erection about 1620, or within sixty years after the Reformation. The present street was not formed till the year 1882, when the George A. Clark Town Hall was completed.

The date of the origin of New Smithhills is also uncertain. It existed in 1761, for in that year the town's drummer was sent through "the town of Paisley," "and also through the New Smithhills," to proclaim "the taking in of cattle at the Laigh Parks," and to prohibit people from going to the parks. The statement is Mr. Kibble's, and on the same page of his accounts occurs the following:—"By the Town Officers and drum for proclaiming through Paisley, Seedhills and Smithhills the roup of the steadings, 1s. 6d." A further entry refers to the "continuation of the roup of the steadings." Unfortunately, there is nothing to show where these steadings were.

But ten years before this, Lord Dundonald had begun to follow the example of the abbots and Town Council of Paisley. In 1750, he parcelled out "4 acres of ground or thereby in the crofts of the Laighparks of Paisley" into forty-nine lots, and in January, 1751, on being put up to public auction, forty-two of them were disposed of. Three of them were not taken up, the proposed feuar not being able to pay for them. They were subsequently feued to another; and in 1757, out of the forty-nine, only seven lots remained unfeued. The total rental of the new feus was £55 10s.[1]

Subsequent roups, at least during the next nine years, do not appear to have been successful. On January 27, 1757,[2] four acres of the abbey gardens were announced in the *Glasgow Courant*, to be offered for feu by public roup. The abbey gardens and the "dovecote," which stood close to the Cart, opposite the waterfall at the Seedhill mill, were again advertised, but this time—probably in the year 1760[3]—in the *Glasgow Journal*. But from 1751 to 1760, the Earl's

[1] MS., p. 20. [2] Brown, Hist. of Paisley, ii. 95. [3] MS., p. 42.

rent-roll shows no increase in money. Great changes, however, were taking place in the Newtown. Large quantities of timber were cut down in the Laighpark. Mr. Kibble in one year received for it, £49 9s. 6d.[1] Abbot Shaw's enclosing wall was broken down. Much of the stone, hewn and rubble, was sold. In an entry, dated November 17, 1759, we have the last mention of the statues which once adorned the wall which Abbot Shaw had built at so great cost, and had been so highly admired by all who saw it. The entry is as follows :—"To John Robertson for the old statues, 28 stone at 1s. 10d. per stone, £2 11s. 4d." One cannot help wondering who this John Robertson was. Evidently he was willing to give more than the price of old stone for the statues.

Great changes were also going on in the Place of the abbey. Hitherto it had been the residence of the abbots and of peers. Many a noble company had assembled within its walls and wandered at leisure through its gardens and park. But its glory was departing. The Earl of Dundonald ceased to reside within the Place. The best of the furniture was removed; the rest was sold to the highest bidder. The "hall" was unroofed and taken down. Doors were knocked out in the walls of the abbey, and other doorways were built up. The officers of the town went through the streets of the burgh proclaiming with tuck of drum that lodgings of two and three rooms were to be had in the abbey house,[2] and the place where kings, lords, and bishops had formerly been wont to gather, fell from its high estate and became crowded with all manner of tenants.

In 1764, the lordship of Paisley, with certain of its ancient lands, passed back into the hands of the Earl of Abercorn, by whom it was purchased from the Dundonalds for £3,465 5s. 6½d.[3] Owing to the increasing prosperity of the burgh, houses were in great demand, and the whole of the ancient park and gardens of the monastery was laid off

[1] MS., p. 10. [2] MS.

[3] The heritable jurisdiction of the regality had been abolished some years before this—probably in 1747.

on a regular plan for feuing. A number of steadings were feued out for building purposes in 1778, and within three years from that date no fewer than eighty-three houses had been erected. The streets were named after the different branches of the weaving trade then carried on in the town. Hence the present Gauze Street, Lawn Street, Thread Street, Incle Street, and Silk Street. It was at this time, too, that the Abercorn inn and hall were built. The first tenant of the inn was Joseph Ritter, who, according to his advertisement, began business on October 13, 1783, and assured his expected customers that the hotel was "furnished and fitted up in the neatest and genteelest manner," that they might "depend on the best usage," and that every article would be "charged on the most reasonable terms."

The Newtown was outside the jurisdiction of the magistrates of Paisley, and when the Royal Commission on the Municipal Corporations of Scotland visited the burgh in 1835, not a few complaints were made in regard to this. In matters of trade, the inhabitants of the Newtown were the natural rivals of the burgesses and stallingers of the burgh. In the Newtown, anyone could open a shop and start a business when he liked, but in the burgh he could not, unless he were a burgess or paid the stallinger's fee, and otherwise bore his share of the town's burdens. And a strong desire was expressed before the Commission that matters of this kind should be set right. In their report, the Commissioners express no opinion on the subject; but the whole matter was adjusted by the Municipal Act which was shortly afterwards passed, by which the whole of the Newtown was brought within the boundaries of the burgh and made part of it.

For a number of years, little progress appears to have been made in the Newtown; but about the middle of the nineteenth century, owing to the development of the trade of the town, a new tide of prosperity set in, and since then an enormous amount of building has been done.

CHAPTER XXX.

VOLUNTEERS, RIOTS, AND REFORM.

For some time previous to the outbreak of the French Revolution, the Town Council and principal inhabitants of the burgh, in order to testify to their loyalty, were in the habit, as often as the Government was engaged in foreign wars, of giving bounties to those of their fellow-townsmen who volunteered to serve the country in the army or navy. In February, 1778, they offered a bounty of five guineas to every able-bodied man residing in the town or parish of Paisley who, by April following, voluntarily enlisted in any of His Majesty's regiments of foot from the First to the Seventy-first inclusive. The following year, they authorized the "magistrates to offer, by advertising, over and above His Majesty's bounty or any other bounty, a bounty of four pounds for every able-bodied seaman, and two guineas for every ordinary seaman and landsman resident in the town or parish of Paisley who joined His Majesty's forces."

When the French Revolution broke out, the magistrates and chief inhabitants of the burgh were still enthusiastically loyal to the Government. In 1792, there were riots in Dundee, Perth, and Aberdeen, which had to be quelled by the military. In December of the same year, a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Paisley was summoned by the magistrates, and held in the Court Hall, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the country. Those present declared their unswerving attachment to the principles of the constitution, and resolved to give every assistance in their power to the Government for the maintenance of the peace of the country.

In 1793, revolutionary societies sprang up in various parts of the country. Delegates from those in Scotland met in

Edinburgh, where a "convention" was held, and the delegates, in imitation of the French, took to addressing each other as "citizen." After sitting for about a month, the "convention" was suppressed, and three of the leaders of it, were tried and transported. One of these societies was formed in Paisley, and on March 12, 1793, its members issued a declaration which they caused to be published in the newspapers. The major part of the inhabitants were of a saner mind. On April 1, in the same year, that is, a few days after the issue of the declaration just referred to, a meeting of the magistrates and chief inhabitants of the burgh was held in the Court Hall, when it was unanimously agreed among them to revive the old custom of bounties, and to pay to the first hundred landsmen or seamen belonging to or residing within the County of Renfrew, who voluntarily entered His Majesty's service, before May 1, as follows: Three guineas to each able-bodied seaman, and two guineas to every ordinary seaman or landsman. For this purpose there was raised and paid by the inhabitants, the sum of £532 1s. Fifty pounds were authorized by the Town Council to be subscribed to the fund for encouraging seamen to enter the navy, in aid of which fund a public meeting was held.

In order to maintain the peace of the country at this time, soldiers were quartered in various places. A number were sent to Paisley, and were lodged by the Town Council in "their large new granary now completely finished," a building which is supposed to have been situated in what is now George Place.

When the Government called for volunteers, both horse and foot, Paisley responded by "raising the first Volunteer corps embodied in Scotland during the revolutionary wars."[1] In July, 1794, the gentlemen of Renfrewshire resolved to offer to raise a corps of infantry, consisting of 400 men. The Town Council entered heartily into the movement, and

[1] Paterson, Hist. of Ayrshire, ii. 23. The corps was raised mainly through the energy of Mr. William M'Kerrell of Hillhouse, then a merchant in Paisley.—Brown, Hist. of Paisley, ii. 69.

on November 4, the magistrates presented the corps with a stand of colours bearing the town's arms upon them. The martial spirit of the town appears to have been thoroughly aroused, and the regular troops found in the burgh an excellent recruiting ground.[1] When, in the end of 1797, the suggestion was adopted that an opportunity should be given to those who wished to contribute over and above their assessments, to the fund for the defence of the country against the French, to the two millions that were raised in this way, Paisley sent the substantial sum of £4,516 4s., and, in the following year, Nelson's victory at Aboukir was celebrated with every demonstration of joy, the volunteers being inspected, their officers dined, the town decorated and illuminated, and bonfires kindled.

Meanwhile, the trade of the town had passed through several periods of depression. In consequence of the bad harvests of 1799 and 1800, the condition of the working classes was deplorable. The Town Council and wealthier inhabitants did what they could to mitigate the distress, and by and by help came in from all quarters. But the time had gone by when the people were disposed to endure their privations with stubborn and uncomplaining patience. The principles of the French Revolution were slowly sifting through the lower classes of society, and fostering among them a different temper. Inflammatory placards began to appear upon the walls, disorderly and riotous mobs assembled, and on September 18, 1800, the lord-lieutenant and sheriff were under the necessity of issuing a proclamation, offering a

[1] Writing of this period Mr. Parkhill says: "We have seen at least thirty recruiting parties stationed in Paisley at a time, and the same martial spirit seemed to animate our youths as formerly. To show the anxiety to make up regiments, we may mention that we saw the chieftain, Macdonald of Glengarry, and Macdonald of Keppoch, recruiting through the town as sergeants; and Cameron attending a regiment of Fencibles that were being broken up, snuffing with the men and enticing them to volunteer into the afterwards gallant 79th, of which he was Colonel." "Drums and fifes," he adds, "were quite common on the Sabbath, and, without the least compunction, music, not in the least connected with psalmody, was most cheerfully played." Hist. of Paisley, 35.

reward for information which might lead to the discovery and apprehension of the ringleaders in the movement. But after some excitement, caused by the discovery and looting of a potato store in some buildings belonging to the abbey, in what was known as the year of the Great Dearth, the excitement subsided.

The peace of Amiens was concluded on March 27, 1802, and, in the belief that the peace would be permanent, the officers of the volunteers presented their colours to the magistrates, and their corps was disbanded. But the peace was short-lived. Napoleon placed 300,000 men along the heights of Boulogne, and professed to be making ready to land them on the opposite shores of Great Britain. The war feeling was quickly aroused throughout the country, and within a few days, in June, 1803, a volunteer corps about 1000 strong was raised in Paisley. Some difficulty arose about the appointment of officers ; but this was amicably got over by the volunteers agreeing to elect the commandant and captains from a list submitted to them by the Town Council, and to allow the Town Council to appoint the subalterns nominated by the companies.

In the following November, another corps was raised in the county, so that, of the 300,000 volunteers raised throughout the country at this time, Renfrewshire supplied 2,701.

Soon after the passing of the Act of June, 26, 1802, for the purpose of raising and establishing a militia force in Scotland, what was known as the Paisley Militia Society was formed. Under the Act referred to, all males from eighteen to forty-five, with certain exceptions, were to be enrolled and made liable to serve. The purpose of the society was to insure its members against any inconvenience the Act might cause them. The entry-money for those joining before September 24 was 5s., and another levy of 5s. was due before October 15. Those who joined later had to pay 11s. If by the operation of the ballot a member of the society was chosen for the militia, he was bought off, but had either to find sufficient caution or to pay down a guinea as a pledge that future levies would be responded to. The funds were

used in providing substitutes, or failing these, in paying the penalties incurred under the Act.

In 1807 and 1808, in consequence of fresh alarms caused by the continued success of Buonaparte, three additional regiments, known as the First, Second, and Third Regiments of Renfrewshire Local Militia, were raised. They were commanded by Lieutenant-colonels Boyd Alexander, Mure of Caldwell, and William M'Kerrell, and remained embodied till the close of the war.

Meanwhile, the trade of the town was still fluctuating, and the working classes became more restless, in consequence of the hardships they had from time to time to endure. During the year 1811, trade was depressed throughout the whole country, and the effects of the depression were especially felt in Paisley. After the revival in the following year, combinations began to be formed among the operative weavers for the purpose of compelling their employers to raise their wages. In December, a strike was organized, intimidation was resorted to, and various friendly societies used their funds to support the strike. The sheriff of the county and the magistrates of Paisley issued a proclamation, condemning the combinations and advising those on strike to return to their work without delay, under pain of being proceeded against by law.

In 1816, things became worse, and, on October 5, a public meeting was held in the West Relief Church, Canal Street, "for the purpose of considering the distresses of the country, their causes and remedies, and the propriety of petitioning His Royal Highness the Prince Regent thereon." The chair was taken by Mr. Hastie, speeches were made, and a series of resolutions was passed. Speeches and resolutions were political, and in spirit Radical. The resolutions are too long for quotation; but the eighth, and last, contains what may be regarded as a summary of them all. It was as follows:—"That a petition be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, beseeching him to take into his most serious consideration the sufferings of the industrious and patient people, and praying that he would be pleased forthwith to

cause the Parliament to be assembled, and to recommend to them the absolute necessity of immediately undoing our heavy burdens by reducing the army, abolishing all sinecures, pensions, grants, and emoluments, not merited by public services; to introduce into every department of the public expenditure the most rigid economy; and to listen to the repeated prayers of the people for being restored to their undoubted right of choosing annually their own representatives."

Early in January, 1817, a public fund was raised for the relief of the unemployed. The Town Council contributed £50 towards it. On the 20th of the month another political meeting was held, this time in the East Relief Church. Mr. Hastie was again in the chair, and a series of twenty-two resolutions was passed, the burden of them all being that "the continued and increasing calamities of the times arose from the want of a proper representation of the people in Parliament, and that they should be put in possession of their undoubted rights — universal suffrage and annual Parliaments."

The agitation continued, and it was resolved to hold a meeting on Meikleriggs Muir, on Saturday, July 17, 1819. Some 30,000 people are said to have been present at the meeting. Mr. James Allison took the chair. Eight speeches were delivered, votes of thanks were accorded to Messrs. Cobbett and Wooler, and instead of again presenting a petition to the Prince Regent or to the Houses of Parliament, as proposed by the committee, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. John Neil, to issue an address to the nation. The meeting passed off quietly, the different divisions marching away to the sound of the bugle.

Another meeting was summoned, by a placard with a mourning border, for the first week in September at the same place; but the weather proving unfavourable, it was adjourned to the eleventh of the month. Several large bodies of people, however, came from Kilbarchan, Johnstone, Dalry, Kilmarnock, and other places, carrying flags with the usual devices, but by the advice of some, the banners were

furled or otherwise rendered inconspicuous before the parties entered the town. The committee adjourned to the Unitarian Church, in the High Street, and were there informed that Mr. Lang had offered to print and to assist in editing a Radical reform newspaper, since it was "absolutely necessary," Mr. Lang stated to the meeting, "to have a newspaper to advocate the cause of universal suffrage."

Previous to the adjourned meeting of September 11, the sheriff and magistrates of Paisley issued a proclamation forbidding the use of flags on the day. When the day came, a band of from two to three hundred persons from Glasgow marched through the town to the place of meeting with their flags flying, and eight flags were displayed before the hustings. The flags were edged, and the hustings were hung with black, and the speakers from the Paisley Committee were dressed in mourning, in token of sympathy with those who had recently been killed in the riots at Manchester. The band from Neilston entered the grounds playing "Scots wha hae." Mr. Alexander Taylor was appointed chairman, and pled with the assembly for attention and good order. He repudiated the idea that the reformers had any wish to cause a disturbance or for a revolution, and stated that what they wished was to put an end to all unnecessary places, pensions, and sinecures, and to obtain a proper share in the legislation of the country. But the topic upon which he and the rest of the speakers chiefly dwelt, was the Manchester massacres, and a number of resolutions deprecating the conduct of the magistrates of Manchester was passed, together with others condemning the *Glasgow Chronicle*, and approving the conduct of the Radical leaders. About the middle of the proceedings, the cry of "the Hussars" was raised, when the people dispersed in all directions, and some time elapsed before order was restored. A collection was made for the relief of the relatives of the Manchester sufferers, and the huge crowd, consisting, it is said, of from fourteen to eighteen thousand people, began to disperse.

The Neilston contingent, with their band playing, turned down Storie Street, which was just outside the limits of the

burgh, and got away quietly. The people from Glasgow were worse guided and less fortunate. They attempted to force their way along the High Street, and through the market place. The High Street was lined on both sides with special constables, with the magistrates at their head. At the Cross, the leading flag carried by the processionists was seized, and a scuffle ensued. An immense crowd immediately gathered. Stones and other missiles were thrown, the windows of the Council Chamber were broken; the riot spread, and similar outrages were perpetrated in other parts of the town. Shortly after ten o'clock the Riot Act was read. At eleven, cavalry were sent for from Glasgow. Two hours later, they rode into the High Street. They were received with cheers by the people, and the constables, without the assistance of the troops, cleared the streets by three o'clock in the morning.

The next day was Sunday. As the magistrates were proceeding to the church, they were insulted by the mob which had assembled in the market place, and in the High Street. One of the ringleaders was seized by Bailie Bowie, who, with the assistance of his brother magistrates, promptly clapped him in jail. When the magistrates again set out for church, they were allowed to proceed unmolested.[1] The day passed without much disorder, but in the gloaming the crowd began to collect about the Cross, and to insult every decently dressed individual who passed. Motherwell, the poet and sheriff clerk, was violently assaulted, and when picked up, was unconscious. It had been agreed by the

[1] The above is ex-Provost Brown's account (Hist. of Paisley, ii. 172). The superintendent of the police, in his report, makes no mention of the capture of the ringleader. What he says is: "When the magistrates left the Council Chamber to go to church, as they stepped out of the door, they met with a huzza from the crowd, and as they turned up the High Street, they were hissed by well dressed people, and when they turned up the High Church Brae, they were again hissed. In the afternoon they were again hissed on going out of the Chamber, and at the foot of the High Church Brae, as they turned up, the crowd gave a huzza. A party after divine service, followed Bailie Bowie to his own house, and hissed him all the way."—Brown, Hist., ii. 176.

authorities that neither the constables nor the cavalry should show themselves until eight o'clock at night, in order to see whether the mob would disperse of its own accord. But the crowds were bent upon mischief, and appear to have assembled in order to carry out a preconcerted plan. Between seven and eight o'clock, a volley of stones was suddenly aimed at the Cross and at the Coffee Room,[1] and with a shout the rioters set off for Causeyside Street, smashing lamps and windows as they went, and, after passing along Canal Street, George Street, and Broomlands, they came down the High Street, about eight o'clock, many of them armed with the iron railings which they had pulled down at the Methodist Church in George Street.[2] Their approach was seen by the extinguishing of the lamps. The cavalry were at once sent for, the Riot Act was read, and at half-past nine the special constables and cavalry began to clear the streets. While doing this, they were repeatedly charged by the mob; but between one and two in the morning, the streets were cleared and all was quiet. Thirty-seven houses were reported as having had their windows broken during the few hours the riot lasted.

On Monday morning, the crowds that collected were still greater and quite as unruly. Many strange faces were seen among them, and there was every sign that the magistrates had a hard and dangerous day's duty before them. At a quarter to one o'clock, the Riot Act was again read, and the infantry sent for from Glasgow. The cavalry were brought to the Cross, and for several hours the appearance of affairs in the town was alarming. The shops were shut, business was suspended, and, though earnestly entreated by the sheriff and magistrates, the crowds refused to disperse. Between four and five o'clock, two companies of the 80th Regiment arrived. Meantime, word had been brought to the magistrates that a meeting of from four to five thousand of the rioters was being held in St. James Street. Accompanied, therefore, by part of the military, the magistrates proceeded

[1] Now the Savings Bank.

[2] Now the New Jerusalem Church.

to the place where the meeting was going on. As they went down Moss Street, a great crowd ran before them, and, suddenly turning round, hurled a shower of missiles at the magistrates, and then ran on. The cavalry were ordered to charge, and the streets in front were soon cleared; but it was not till late on Tuesday morning that the rest of the streets were reported cleared.

Tuesday passed off quietly, though in the evening a number of windows were broken and planks were laid across the streets to impede the movements of the cavalry.

Wednesday was quiet until seven at night, when a crowd suddenly appeared at the Cross. At eight o'clock, many of those who composed it went away; but a determined party remained, and at half-past eight the Riot Act was read, and about an hour later the military had to clear the streets. A proclamation was issued by the authorities of the county and burgh, warning all persons to keep themselves and their households within doors after eight P.M., and offering a reward of thirty guineas for information leading to the conviction of those who had been concerned in the destruction of property, whether public or private.

But by this time the agitation had begun to die down. Shortly after eight o'clock on Thursday night few persons were to be seen on the streets, except the military and constables. On Friday, a slight crowd collected at the Cross, and lingered a little longer than on the preceding day, but at ten o'clock in the evening the constables were dismissed to their homes.

Fortunately, though much property was destroyed and many persons were injured, these disgraceful scenes were not attended by loss of life. One result of them was a representation to the Crown from the Lieutenancy of the County, supported by the magistrates and Town Council of Paisley, pointing out the necessity for having a permanent military force in the town. The matter was taken up by the military authorities, and within three years the Williamsburgh barracks were built and occupied.

Trade continued bad, and Radicalism was in the air. The

whole of the West country was in a state of intense political excitement. On November 1, a great political meeting was held at Johnstone. When it broke up, after the usual inflammatory speeches, the crowd marched to Paisley. All the shops in the West-end were shut, and the cavalry with horses ready saddled waited all day long at the Tontine and Saracen Head inns; but fortunately, instead of attempting to pass by the Cross, the crowd, who were armed with sticks and had two battle-axes carried in front, turned down Storie Street, and the services of neither the cavalry nor the constables were required.

The year 1820 brought no improvement in the state of the country. In Paisley, as in other places in the West, the Radicals were drilling and endeavouring to supply themselves with arms. A provisional government was appointed and a treasonable proclamation was issued. April 1 was the day fixed upon as the date for the rising; but when the day came, no rising took place. Mr. Parkhill, who was one of the Radicals, and acquainted with all their doings and intentions, in his History of Paisley and in his Autobiography of Arthur Sneddon, evidently desires to make light of the whole business. This, however, was not the way in which the Government, or the lieutenancy, or the magistrates of Paisley looked at it. The town was filled with troops in anticipation of the rising; and, for his participation in the affair, Mr. Parkhill had to flee the country. A commission was sent down to try a number of those who had acted with him, and though they were acquitted, the charge on which they were tried was that of high treason.[1] In Glasgow and Greenock the movement was attended, not only as in Paisley, with serious consequences, but also with the loss of several lives.[2]

[1] The trial took place in St. George's Church, on Tuesday, August 1, 1820.

[2] For an excellent account of the whole affair, see Brown, History of Paisley, ii. 187. To Mr. Brown's History and to Mr. Parkhill's books I have been greatly indebted.

During the years 1819 and 1820, a rifle corps was raised in the town. It consisted of two companies of 120 men each. Captain M'Alpine, as captain-commandant, commanded the first company, and Captain Stewart the second. Both of them had seen service abroad. In consequence of the unsettled state of the town and country, it was no uncommon thing at the time, it is said, for clerks and warehousemen to be at work in their uniforms, with their arms beside them, ready to turn out at a moment's notice whenever the signal was given by the ringing of the High Church bell. They mounted guard with the regulars, the guard being commanded sometimes by an officer of the regulars and sometimes by an officer of the volunteers.

With the autumn of 1825, a series of trying years set in. Trade was bad and the harvest poor. Every effort was made to mitigate the sufferings of the operatives, many of whom were employed to improve the footpaths around the town and upon the banks and towing-paths of the Cart, and for a number of years, during which in England there was a series of riots, accompanied by destruction of property and loss of life, the unemployed of Paisley, in spite of their many and great privations, conducted themselves in the most orderly and exemplary way. There was much political excitement, both among the distressed and among other classes of society, particularly in reference to the reform of municipal institutions and the passing of the Reform Bill.

On September 2, 1830, within five weeks after Charles X. had been compelled to abdicate the throne of France, a meeting was held in the church in St. James Street for the purpose of giving expression to the sympathy there was in the town with the French people in their struggle for liberty. The meeting was presided over by Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, and a subscription was opened on behalf of the relatives of the Frenchmen who had fallen in the struggle. Fifteen days later, Mr. Hume was in the town, when his remarks on parliamentary reform were received with enthusiasm, and arrangements were made for holding a public meeting for the purpose of petitioning the King and the House

of Commons in connection with a radical reform of Parliament. The meeting was held on the 16th of the following month, in Thread Street Church, when Sir John Pollok presided over an assemblage of about 2,000 people. After several speeches had been delivered, the terms of the petition were adopted with enthusiasm. On February 14 of the following year, the Renfrewshire Political Union was formed at a meeting held in the church in St. James Street, presided over by Sir John Maxwell, at which it was resolved to petition Parliament in favour of a reduction of taxation, shorter Parliaments, the extension of the franchise to male householders, and the right of burgesses in burghs to elect their own town councillors. During the year, meetings and petitions in favour of the Government Bill to reform the representation of the people in the House of Commons were numerous, and the excitement great. In less than two days, two of the petitions received the signature of no fewer than 7,500 of the inhabitants. When the second reading of the Reform Bill was carried, on March 21, by a majority of one, the town was brilliantly illuminated. When Parliament was dissolved, in the following month, fresh demonstrations were made, and on the resignation of Earl Grey, in consequence of his defeat in the House of Lords, a great indignation meeting, attended, it is said, by about 4,000 people, was held on the Racecourse. Nowhere in the county did the feeling in favour of the Reform Bill run higher than it did in Paisley, and nowhere were the meetings and processions and other proceedings in connection with it more orderly or successful.

In 1832, the town was visited by the cholera. Many deaths occurred from it, notwithstanding the efforts made to guard against its spread. The places assigned in the different graveyards for the burial of its victims being found insufficient, the magistrates set apart a portion of the common land, near the toll-bar on the Greenock Road, as a burying-ground for those who had no other place of interment. The country was at this time excited by the doings of Burke and Hare and other resurrectionists. In the month of March, a report was spread through the town

that a number of graves, especially in the cholera burying-ground on Greenock Road, had been rifled. On examination, some one or two of the coffins were found to be empty. As soon as the news of this spread, a disgraceful riot broke out. The residences of all the doctors, who had laboured with great zeal to ward off the disease, were visited by the mob, and much property was destroyed; but before long the excitement abated, and many of the rioters went home ashamed. Subsequently some who had been ringleaders among them were apprehended and punished. The number who perished from the disease at this time was 446. The cholera was here again in 1834, when there were 140 deaths from it. It was here again in 1848 and 1854.

Chartism found many adherents in the town, and many enthusiastic advocates. On April 6, 1848, a ridiculous scene took place in the Old Low Church. In the presence of a great crowd, a Chartist took a Repealer by the hand, and, in the name of the Chartists, declared a union and marriage between the Charter and Repeal. In consequence of the attempt on the part of the Government to stop the Chartist procession in London, a meeting was held in the town's quarry in Mill Street. There were the usual flags and resolutions. Other meetings were held in connection with the Charter. Ernest Jones attended one of them, and advised those present to get fire-arms and intimidate the Government. A riot seemed imminent, but happily none occurred, and the agitation soon spent itself.

The Volunteer movement of 1859 was extremely popular, and a rifle corps, the third, now the 4th Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, was initiated on June 2 in that year. The original Drill Hall was opened on December 8, 1865. The present handsome structure was opened on May 2, 1896.

The Reform Bill of 1832 entitled Paisley to one representative in the House of Commons. The first election took place on Wednesday and Thursday, December 18 and 19. There were two candidates—Sir John Maxwell of Pollok and Mr. M'Kerrell of Hillhouse. Sir John received 777 votes and

Mr. M'Kerrell 180. Before long the electors of Paisley were far from satisfied with the conduct of their representative in Parliament, and on February 21, 1834, Sir John Maxwell intimated to the provost his intention to resign his seat. At the ensuing election, held on Friday and Saturday, March 21 and 22, 1834, three candidates were nominated—Sir D. Keyte Sandford, professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow; Captain James Edward Gordon, R.N., residing in Morayshire; Mr. John Crawford, London. The show of hands at the hustings was in favour of Mr. Crawford; but the result of the poll was:—Sandford, 542; Crawford, 509; Gordon, 29. Before the end of the year, Sir D. K. Sandford resigned, owing to the state of his health, and in January, 1835, Mr. Speirs of Culcreuch was elected. The other candidate was Mr. Horatio Ross of Rossie, who polled 447 votes against 1,134 cast for Mr. Speirs. In March, 1836, Mr. Speirs resigned, and on the 16th of the month Mr. Hastie, by a majority of 151 votes over Mr. Ayton, was chosen to succeed him. Mr. Hastie continued to represent the burgh in Parliament till his death, November 9, 1857. In his place, Mr. H. E. Crum Ewing of Strathleven was elected, and was re-elected in 1859, 1865, and 1868. At the election in 1874, and again in 1880, Mr. William Holmes was returned without a contest. He resigned in 1884, and was succeeded by Mr. Stewart Clark. Mr. W. B. Barbour was returned in 1885, and again in 1886. He died on May 15, 1891, leaving many benefactions to the town, of which he was a native. At the ensuing election, Mr. William Dunn (now Sir William Dunn, Bart.), also a native of the burgh, was returned, and continued to represent the town in the House of Commons until the dissolution of Parliament in 1905. At the election in that year the candidates were, Mr. John M. M'Callum, Mr. J. A. D. MacKean, both natives of the burgh, and Mr. R. Smillie, when Mr. M'Callum was returned with a majority of 3,070.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

From the period of the Reformation down to the year 1738, the Abbey Church was the only church in the town and parish of Paisley. On February 12, 1733, the magistrates and Town Council of the burgh entered into an agreement with the Earl of Dundonald, whereby the latter, as titular of the teinds and patron of the parish and parish kirk of Paisley, consented, on payment of 1,000 merks to him by the bailies and Council of the burgh, to the erection and planting of new churches within the town, and disponed to the magistrates and Council the patronage of the new churches and the right to dispose during vacancies of any fund which should be provided by the burgh for stipends, communion elements, manses, and glebes; the magistrates and Council, on the other hand, bound themselves, on behalf of the burgh, to relieve the patron of all obligations to make provision for the ministers, and to build and uphold the churches, and also to provide each of the ministers of the new erections with a stipend of not less than 1,000 merks and a glebe.

Three years after this agreement had been signed, or in January, 1736, the Presbytery passed an Act declaring the new church or churches contemplated in the agreement to be necessary, and on July 7 in the same year, the Court of Teinds pronounced, with the consent of all parties concerned, an interlocutor, decerning for the erections in terms of the agreement. The result was, that the Old Low Church was built in 1738; the High Church in 1756; and the Middle Church in 1781. On February 20, 1781, the town was divided into three parishes, known as the Low, High, and Middle. Seedhill, as the original site of the town, and the property of the magistrates and Town Council, formed part

of the Low Parish, but not the mill nor the miller's house, which remained in the Abbey Parish. To the above have since been added the following parish churches:—St. Columba, built in 1793; the North, 1834; the Martyrs, 1835; the South, 1836; Greenlaw, 1889. St. George's Church was built as a substitute for the Old Low Parish Church in 1820. The North Church was rebuilt in 1888. The South Church was renovated in 1891; and the Martyrs in 1895. To the last a suite of halls has been added.

During the nineteenth century, two attempts were made to restore the church of the ancient abbey. The first, which was begun on January 13, 1862, contemplated the renovation only of the nave of the church, and succeeded. The plans for the second were on a much more extensive scale; but so far only the tower has been rebuilt, the two transepts restored, and the chapel of S. Mirin re-opened [1] and made to form part of the church. The choir is still in ruins, and the steeple is wanting. The church has also been adorned with a number of stained glass windows.

At least as early as the year 1750, a congregation of the Associated Session of Paisley and Greenock, otherwise known as Anti-Burghers, was formed in the town. For a time it had for its place of worship the meeting-house in Meeting-House Lane. The first church of the congregation was built in Oakshaw Street, in 1762. This was taken down and rebuilt in 1826. During the century and a half of its existence the congregation has had but four ministers.

After the formation of the congregation just referred to, in 1750, other dissenting congregations sprang up in the town. In 1767, a Congregational church was opened in the abbey buildings. After worshipping there for some time, the congregation removed to the Tabernacle, a red brick building on the south bank of the Canal, near the West Relief Church, and said to have been originally built for a congregation connected with the Old Scotch Independents.

[1] In consequence of this, the echo which gained for S. Mirin's chapel the name of "the Sounding Aisle," has ceased to be heard.



THE ABBEY CHURCH AFTER ITS RESTORATION IN 1862.


THE ABBEY CHURCH AFTER ITS RESTORATION IN 1875.



In 1834, the Congregationalists removed to their new church in Old Sneddon, and from thence, in 1887, to their present church in School Wynd.

The Anti-Burgher Church in Abbey Close, now the Abbey Close U.F. Church, was built in 1769. In 1827 it was taken down. Its demolition opened up an excellent view of the Abbey Church which many in the town were desirous of preserving. The congregation were offered any one of three sites on which to build a new place of worship, the sum of £400, and the preservation of their graveyard, to allow the view to remain open. The offer was declined, and the church was rebuilt as it now stands.

In 1782, a church of the Bereans was started in New Sneddon Street; and in the same year, the West Relief Church, now the Canal Street U.F. Church, was opened.

In 1795, some seven or eight Baptists formed themselves into a church, and for some time met for worship in each others' houses. Afterwards, they had a meeting-house in Abbey Close, where they appear to have prospered, till the year 1798, when, finding their place of meeting too small, they "agreed to build a new house of worship," and for the erection of it, purchased a piece of ground in George Street at the north-west corner of Storie Street.

In the same year, 1798, a few individuals seceded from the Anti-Burgher Church, Oakshaw, now the East U.F. Church, Oakshaw, and formed themselves into the society known as the Pen Folk, of whom Mr. David Gilmour has left a delightful account. They met in the Baptist meeting-house in Pen Lane. Few in number, they were exceedingly strict in doctrine. During the twenty-one years of their existence as a society, as many as thirty of them were excommunicated for holding what were regarded as unsound doctrines. The Pen Folk were "high Calvinists," and adopted Baptist opinions, but always refused to join the Baptist Church in Storie Street. From Pen Lane, they removed to Barr Street, and appear to have gradually died away.

The East Relief Church, now the Thread Street U.F. Church, was built in 1808. In the same year was also built

the Roman Catholic Chapel in East Buchanan Street. It is said to have been the first Roman Catholic place of worship erected in Scotland after the Reformation.

The Cameronian, or Reformed Presbyterian, now the West Oakshaw U.F. Church, was opened in July, 1811. The congregation was originally an offshoot of the Cameronian Church at Kilmacolm, from which it was disjoined in August, 1804. Its first meeting-place was the Garnel, in the New Sneddon. For nearly five years, the congregation appear to have been without a minister. In 1806, a call was given to the Rev. James Thomson, minister at Quarrelwood, but apparently without effect; and it was not until April 26, 1809, that Mr. Andrew Symington was ordained pastor in the congregation. The ordination took place in the old Gaelic Church, and on the following Sunday Mr. Symington preached his first sermon as the minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Paisley.[1]

The Cameronians were succeeded in the Garnel by the Old Lights or Original Seceders, who, for some time, had been worshipping in a saw pit. From the Garnel they went, in 1823, to what is now the George Street U.F. Church.

After the Old Lights, the Garnel was occupied by the Episcopalians, who appear to have worshipped there for some time. Their church in St. James Place was opened in May, 1833, and consecrated in September in the following year. The church of S. Barnabas was built during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

In 1820, St. James U.P. Church was opened. Originally the church was built by a body calling themselves English Independents. When the United Presbyterian congregation vacated the building in 1884, to occupy their present beautiful church, the Primitive Methodists, who, for a number of years had worshipped first in the abbey buildings, and then in the Tabernacle, took possession of it, and have since turned it into a church and manse. Their first mission in the town seems to date back to the year 1837.

[1] Robert Macfee, The Cameronians (pp. 59 ff.)—an interesting sketch of the Cameronians, and particularly of the Paisley congregation.

The members of the Evangelical Union Church met for the first time in 1843, in the Abercorn Rooms. Thence they removed to the Exchange Rooms, and thence again to the Old Low Church, of which they are now the proprietors.

A congregation of Wesleyan Methodists was formed in the town about the end of the eighteenth century. For a time they had no fixed place of meeting; but in 1810, they built the chapel, No. 12 George Street, at a cost of £2,400. It was sold to the Swedenborgians in 1854, and is now known as the New Jerusalem Church. At present the Wesleyans are worshipping, on Sundays, in the Good Templar Hall, waiting until the new church they are building in the Smithhills is ready to receive them.

After the Disruption in 1843, the following Free Church churches were built:—the Free St. George's, the Free High, and the Free Middle, in 1844; the Free Martyrs and the Free Gaelic in 1847; and the Free South in 1849. The congregation of the Free St. George's or United Free St. George's have erected a new church in Johnston Street. It was dedicated and opened on the evening of May 2, 1907.

In 1881, the United Presbyterian Church on the Greenock Road, now the Mossvale U.F. Church, was opened on April 5; and the Lylesland U. P. Church, now the Lylesland U. F. Church, in 1884.

Of the Baptist Churches, Storie Street, as already noted, was built in 1798; George Street in 1844; and Lady Lane in 1867.

Besides the Chapel in East Buchanan Street, the Roman Catholics have now one in George Street, and another in Union Street.

One of the latest, and by far the most sumptuous modern ecclesiastical building in Paisley, is the Baptist Church or "Cathedral," as it has been called, in the High Street, built in memory of Mr. Thomas Coats of Ferguslie by his sons and daughters. The plans of the church were drawn by Mr. H. J. Blanc, R.S.A., who also superintended the construction of the building. At the opening of the church, May 13, 1894, the congregation from the Baptist Church at the foot of Storie Street migrated to it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EDUCATIONAL.

The Grammar School continued to be taught in the building originally erected for it in 1586 until the year 1753, when the old building was taken down, and a new and larger school built upon its site at a cost of £298. The money was obtained from the proceeds of a tax which the Town Council was authorized by an Act of Parliament to levy upon all beer brewed, tapped, or sold within the burgh.

The school did not always maintain itself in a flourishing condition. During fifty years it had no fewer than fourteen masters. A number of them had been made burgesses, but several of them had had to be dismissed. Parents were not always punctual in the payment of school fees, and there were complaints about their children being punished. Several times the teachers were forbidden by the Town Council to strike their pupils, and on April 17, 1673, that august body discovered that some of the latter were in the habit of going to public-houses, and enacted that "chaingers" who sold drink to scholars or young men should "pay ten punds money and be discharged brewing." The masters or rectors were meagrely paid, and one of them, on applying for an increase of salary, received "half a guinea to buy a hat"; another received an increase of the same sum in money. As a rule, the master of the Grammar School held the offices also of precentor and clerk to the Kirk Session. On April 20, 1626, Mr. Hutchison was appointed clerk to the Presbytery. Mr. Bowie, another master or rector of the Grammar School, was also clerk both to the Kirk Session and to the Presbytery. The Presbytery, besides taking a general interest in the Grammar School, for a time, at least, supported two poor students at the University.

To show their interest in the Grammar School, the Town Council, on August 17, 1705, "by a plurality of votes, allowed to George Glen, master of the Grammar School, and Mr. James Alexander, doctor [teacher], twenty pounds Scots towards the defraying of the expenses of their acting of *Bellum Grammaticale*, and also for their further encouragement, promise to erect a theatre at their own expense." The "further encouragement," however, was by no means intended to foster the sinful love of play-acting in the minds of either the children or their teachers, but to stimulate the pupils in their studies of the Latin tongue. The *Bellum Grammaticale*, which was written, or revised and adapted, by Alexander Hume, schoolmaster of Dunbar, when James VI. was King, is "a serio-comic piece of portentous dulness, in which the parts of speech are personified, and appear to argue forth their respective claims to precedence over the rest. During the early decades of the eighteenth century this pedagogic moral play was a favourite performance on festive school occasions, when the public functionaries, eminent citizens, and ministers came to witness it with subdued excitement."[1]

The promise on the part of the Town Council to build a theatre, unless the structure was a merely temporary affair, appears to have fallen through, but the practice of having plays on festive occasions at the schools was an ancient one. There is a reference to it in the minutes of the Town Council of Paisley, under date May 13, 1620, when a sum of money was voted from the "unlaws," or fines, three of the Council, however, protesting, "to help and supply to a pleasant invention and play to be plaid within the burgh upon the day of May instant;" and as early as June 14, 1574, the Town Council of Haddington ordained "the £10 formerly assigned to the master of the Grammar School to be delivered to the town players," and "the claythis to be delyverit thaireftir to the town." Five years after this, Mr. Lowsoun, a minister in Edinburgh, was directed by the Town Council of

[1] Graham, Social Life, ii. 174.

that city to visit, with two others, the High School, and to report as to the acting of the "tragedies of the bairnes." What these tragedies were, is not said; but some idea of them may probably be gathered from an order given to the city treasurer in the following year, to buy grey cloth sufficient for five "frieris weids" and some red cloth resembling dresses worn by the "paip and his cardinellis, to serve the play to be playet be the principall and maisteris and his scholleris of the Hie Schole."[1]

In the Town Council minutes of Paisley, we hear, in the year 1684, for the first time, of the Arithmetic and Scots School, when David Tavindale, the doctor or teacher thereof, complained to the Town Council of the meagreness of his salary and the expense to which he was put by having to hire a house for the accommodation of the school. The Town Council, "for his encouragement ordained the Almshouse loft to be given him for teaching of the bairns without payment of any maills therfor, during their pleasure in all time coming."[2] The school continued to be taught in the attic of the hospital until the town's new English School was erected in the School Wynd, in 1788. The class-room of the new school was 27 feet long, 25 wide, and 11 feet high. The school had a second storey, which was let to John Speir "upon condition that neither he, his sons, nor servants shall allow any dogs to be harboured in or to frequent the subject."

In the same year (1788), the Town Council advertised for three schoolmasters—one for the school just mentioned, another for the Laigh Parish School in Storie Street, and another for the Middle Parish School in School Wynd. On July 5, three teachers were appointed. The fees were fixed at two shillings sterling per quarter, and the teachers were prohibited from exacting more. For the children of poor parents, they were bound to make an abatement of sixpence per quarter.

[1] Grant, Burgh Schools, 412.

[2] Town Council Records, November 12, 1684.

A teacher of writing and arithmetic is first mentioned in the Town Council Records under date January 22, 1762. Both subjects had already been taught in the Grammar School and the town's English School; but, owing to the rapid increase of the population, more teachers and more schools were required. The first master of the Commercial School, as the new school came to be called, was Mr. Robert Smith, formerly schoolmaster at Kinnaird. The site of the school is said to have been at "the east end of the Grammar School, presently possessed by Peter Reid,"[1] but in 1781, the Council resolved "to build a house of two stories at the head of the yard purchased from James White, in School Wynd, for a Writing School." The two-storey building was erected in Meeting-House Lane, and was known as the Educational Institution, or the Town's Commercial School. Mr. Ebenezer Macome taught it for the long period of thirty-three years. He was succeeded by his nephew, and he by his brother. The survivor of the two brothers, Mr. Alexander Macome, demitted his office in 1844, and was appointed clerk to the Session of the High Parish.

Long before this, however, the attention of the Town Council had been drawn to the need for a new Grammar School, and, after much consideration and delay, a new building was erected on Churchhill. The schoolroom was of a fair size for the time, and a tradition exists that when the pupils left the old school to take their places in it, they went in formal procession with flags flying and drums beating. The rector's house occupied the second storey, and here some of the rectors kept boarders in order to eke out their scant salaries.

As far back as 1835, the propriety of building an academy in the town had been discussed, but the unfortunate years 1841-1842 intervened, and it was not till October 31, 1863, when £2,372 had been raised by subscription for the purpose, that the project began to be realized. On that day, the foundation stone of the academy was laid with masonic

[1] Town Council Records, January 22, 1762.

honours, in Oakshaw Street, on ground immediately adjoining the Grammar School, and purchased as the most suitable site for it.

With the erection of the academy, the town's English School, which had been removed from the attic of the almshouse to the School Wynd in 1788, the town's Commercial School in Meeting-House Lane, and the town's school in Storie Street were no longer required. The English and Commercial Schools were sold in 1863, and the proceeds invested in the funds for the erection of new buildings. The Low Parish School in Storie Street was closed in 1867, and soon after sold.

The Grammar School and Academy continued under the management of the Town Council and subscribers until the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, came into operation, when it passed under the control of the Burgh School Board. By this body it was enlarged and brought more abreast of the times. Through the generosity of a donor who wishes to remain unknown, it was subsequently provided with a well-equipped chemical laboratory.

That piece of good fortune was soon followed by another. In 1891, Mr. William B. Barbour, who for a number of years had represented his native town in Parliament and in a variety of ways had contributed to the well-being of his fellow-townsmen, bequeathed the major portion of his fortune to certain Trustees for certain purposes in the town, and out of this bequest originated the splendidly equipped school which now stands on the lands of Crossflat, on the Glasgow Road, and is known as the Paisley Grammar School and William B. Barbour Academy. The building has accommodation for 600 scholars.

Like other Town Councils, the Town Council of Paisley, as we have already seen, in October, 1647, prohibited the holding of private schools. On April 10, 1651, they "appointed that Mathew Lochhead and all other teachers of men children shall be discharged, that men children may only repair to the Grammar School." On October 12, 1714, "they ordain Pinkerton, schoolmaster, in Causeyside, to

be removed from teaching against Martinmas next, in respect he is not a freeman nor a freeman's son, and prejudices the master of the English School." The master of the English School at the time was Allen Glen, son of Richard Glen, shoemaker, Paisley. He was one of the teachers who were made burgesses in reward for their services, and twice received ten shillings extra from the Town Council "for his extraordinary pains and attendance on the said school." Whether he had complained of Pinkerton is uncertain; probably he had, and it may be that this was one of the ways in which he showed his "extraordinary pains and attention." He died in comfortable circumstances, and left behind him a curious inventory of the contents and furniture of his house. Some eighty individuals owed him money at his death "for teaching of letters, reading, writing, and singing." What happened to Pinkerton is not known. In 1751, a private school was opened in the burgh by one John M'Adams, but was soon suppressed, chiefly, however, on account of M'Adam's character. This was the last time apparently that the Town Council interfered with private schools. During the early part of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of them sprang up in the town,[1] chiefly in connection with several churches. With one or more of them, Mr. David Stow, a native of Paisley, and founder of the training system of education, was connected. There was also a number of other private schools of more or less fame, the names of the teachers of which still live in the memory of many of the inhabitants, especially that of Mr. Peter Chalmers, who appears to have been remarkably successful.[2]

[1] During the first half of the century, the General Session of the Parish Churches built three schools, one in George Street, another in Causeyside Street, and another in New Sneddon Street. After the Disruption, several schools were built in connection with the Free Church, such as Stow School, and the schools in Stevenson Street and Marshall's Lane.

[2] From a list given by Mr. Brown, Hist., ii. 150, it appears that in 1812, there were no fewer than 22 private schools in the town, six of them, however, were in the Newtown, where the Town Council had then no jurisdiction.

The town was not without charity or semi-charity schools. In ancient times, some of the best gifts the town received, were from inhabitants and others who, like James Crawford of Kilwynnat, were not natives. This was the case with Hutcheson's Charity School. It owed its existence to Margaret Hutcheson, a native of Govan. She and her husband, who was a native of Houston, resided in Paisley. In early life her brother, James Hutcheson, went to St. John's, Antigua, where he accumulated a large fortune, and at his death left her the sum of £20,000. At the death of her brother, her husband, whose name was Park, was working as a labourer. When the bequest came to them, they acted with great prudence and liberality. Mrs. Park died in 1795, and Mr. Park in 1797. They were both buried in the High Church burying-ground, on the west of the church. By their will, they left £1,500 "as a fund for erecting, establishing, and endowing a Charity School in the town of Paisley, to be called Hutcheson's Charity School, for the end and purpose of instructing poor orphans or the children of poor parents residing in the town of Paisley or town parishes thereof, who shall be presented and admitted by the Patrons or Governors of the said charity aftermentioned, in reading English and in the principles of the Christian religion, and also in writing and the common rules of arithmetic in case the said governors shall judge this branch of education expedient and that a proper teacher be got for both these branches."[1] The school was opened in temporary premises in the High Street, on June 4, 1804. Forty-four children were admitted on the first day to the day school, and forty the following evening to the evening school. When the town's school removed to Church Wynd, the directors of the Hutcheson's School hired the class-rooms in the Almshouse, and removed there at Whitsuntide, 1805. Seven years later, Mr. William Carswell left to the institution £500, stipulating that the directors should give the preference to not more

[1] M. Hutcheson's Settlement, August 22, 1793.

than ten children for admission who bore the name of Carswell. In October, 1818, the directors purchased a piece of ground extending from Pen Lane fifty feet, eastward along Oakshaw Street for £100, on which to build a school. The school was built, and the children were removed to it in March, 1822. The school was capable of accommodating 250 scholars, but the highest number in attendance does not at any time appear to have been more than 150 during the day, and 70 in the evening. When the scheme for the management of the local educational trusts in Paisley, drawn up by the Commission for the Educational Endowments, and sanctioned by the Lords of the Privy Council, came into operation in 1889, the school was closed, and its endowments transferred to the Governors of the Local Educational Endowments Trust.

The John Neilson Educational Institution was founded by Mr. John Neilson, of Nethercommon, who died November 6, 1839. By his deed of settlement, he left the sum of £18,000 in trust "to form and endow an institution for the educating, clothing, and outfitting, and, if need be, the maintaining of boys who have resided within the parliamentary boundary of Paisley for at least three years, whose parents have died either without leaving sufficient funds for that purpose, or who through misfortune have been reduced, or who from want of means, are unable to give a suitable education to their children." The institution was to be called "The John Neilson Endowment for the Educating, Clothing, and Outfitting of Young Persons." By the founder's will, the trustees, one of whom was the founder's nephew, were given ample powers, and to their wise initiative mainly is due the success which has attended the institution from its opening on April 5, 1852, down to the present. The institution is situated on Oakshawhead, the reputed site of an ancient Roman camp, and, with its handsome cupola, forms a conspicuous object in the landscape for many miles around.[1]

[1] For a further account of this remarkable institution, see my The John Neilson Institution: Its First Fifty Years.

Besides those of the Hutcheson Charity School and the John Neilson Institution, there were other educational endowments in the town. These were the John Maxwell, dated July 24, 1779; the James Maxwell, November 9, 1781; the Thread Street School, held by trustees under a deed by Robert Corse, dated January 14, 1797, and a deed by Mrs. Elizabeth Corse, dated June 10, 1826; the Cochrane Bequest, held and administered under the will of William Cochrane, of date May 24, 1849; the Dickson Endowment; the Graham School Endowment; the Lawn Street Infant School, administered by the Kirk Session of the Abbey Parish; the Park Endowment, and the Harvey Bequest.[1]

Each of these trusts or bequests had its own directors or managers; but in 1889 they were brought together and placed under a Board of Governors, in accordance with the scheme drawn up by the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission, under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act of 1882, and sanctioned by the Queen in Council, October 15, 1889. Education having by this time become compulsory, the governors appointed under this scheme, who are a mixed and representative body, were directed to close and sell, within certain periods, the Dickson, Thread Street, Lawn Street, Graham, Maxwelton, and Hutcheson Schools, to amalgamate the funds of the various trusts, and practically to use them for the maintenance of the John Neilson Institution, for making provision for one hundred and twenty foundationers there, for establishing bursaries, to be called the Cochrane Bursaries, at an annual cost to the funds of £45, and for paying the school fees of orphans and of the children of widows not in receipt of parochial aid, and for providing them with books and stationery, at a cost to the funds of not more than £100 per annum.

This scheme placed the John Neilson Institution on a still higher level, and, since it came into operation, the history of

[1] A school, which was held in the Seedhill, had also a small endowment. Two other endowments have recently come to light, which are now under the administration of the Burgh School Board.

the school has been one of continuous development and success. In January, 1908, it had 919 pupils on the roll, and an average attendance of 750.

When the Educational (Scotland) Act of 1872 came into operation, the Burgh School Board, in order to meet the educational requirements of the town, built four schools, viz., the East, West, North, and South, each of them having accommodation for 700 pupils.[1] These, with the existing sessional and other schools, it was thought, would suffice to meet the educational necessities of the town; but it was soon found that they were inadequate, and under the continuous pressure of the Scotch Education Department of the Privy Council, the following schools have since been built:—Ferguslie, Camphill, Williamsburgh, Mossvale, Abercorn, Carbrook Street; and the old Grammar School in Oakshaw Street and Churchhill has been converted into a public elementary school. On the other hand, the Stow and Causeyside Street Schools have been demolished, and the Stevenson Street School converted into offices. The South School was, some years ago, enlarged, and now, instead of 700 pupils, accommodates 1,509. The largest of the schools, which includes a higher grade department, is Camphill, with accommodation for 1,977. Altogether, the School Board has provided accommodation for 12,453 children, inclusive of the Grammar School (600).

On January 10, 1887, a large and admirably equipped school, known as the Ferguslie Half-Time School, was opened by Mr. Peter Coats, Junr., for children employed in the thread works of Messrs. J. & P. Coats, Limited. It is deservedly regarded as one of the finest in the country.

Fee-paying schools, not under the School Board, provide accommodation for 1,633 pupils, of which 1,491 places are in the John Neilson Institution. Non-fee-paying schools,

[1] For each of these schools, Mr. Thomas Coats, the chairman of the School Board, presented the Board with £1,000 (in all, £4,000), in order to secure to each of the pupils who were expected to attend the schools, 12 square feet of space, the Government allowance being then 8 square feet.

not under the Board, have accommodation for 3,293 children. The total school accommodation in the burgh for children is 17,535, with 15,076 children upon the roll, and an average attendance of 13,181, or in the Board Schools (including the Grammar School), 11,101 on the roll, and 9,794 in average attendance, giving a per centage in the Board Schools of 82·2 (January, 1808).

For many years a small committee, presided over by Sir Thomas Glen-Coats, Bart., M.P., by means of a fund subscribed yearly by a number of ladies and gentlemen in the burgh, and called The Paisley School Prize Fund, has distributed prizes in the shape of books, to the children in the Board's elementary schools who distinguish themselves by their industry and intelligence. In 1905, 1,625 books were distributed at a cost of £68 4s. 1d.; and in 1906, 1,732 books at a cost of £70 13s.

The School of Art, which stood in Gilmour Street, dated back to the year 1848. Many years before that, however, endeavours had been made by the Town Council and others, to make local provision for education in Art; but it was not till the year mentioned, that these endeavours came to a practical issue. The architect of the building was Mr. Lamb. Together with the furniture and equipment, it cost about £3,000, and when the school was opened on September 4, 1848, the committee of management were £1,200 in debt. In 1860, the laws and regulations of the institution were altered, and it became known as "The Paisley Government School of Art." In addition to Art Classes, classes for instruction in science were opened, with the result that many students attached themselves to it. After a successful career under excellent management, the institution was amalgamated with the Technical College in 1885.

With the increase in the industries of the town, the want of an institution for technical education began to be keenly felt. Attempts were made for a number of years to meet the want by opening evening classes in the Grammar School, Causeyside School, and the John Neilson Institution. But no practical steps were taken for the formation of an institute

exclusively devoted to technical education until the matter was taken in hand by the Brough Trustees, a body to be spoken of in the next chapter. In July, 1883, the said Trustees, who for some time had been contemplating the erection of a school, and had commissioned the late Sheriff Cowan to visit the technical schools of America and other countries, set apart the sum of £16,000 for the purpose. In the same year, Messrs. J. & P. Coats presented a site for the school, and contributed towards its erection and equipment the sum of £3,000. Two years later, the directors of the Government School of Art resolved to hand over the whole property, funds, and effects under their control to the governing body of the proposed Technical School as soon as it should be opened, on the understanding that the institution should be at once a Technical College and an Art School. The memorial stone was laid by Her Royal Highness Princess Louise on November 30, 1897, and the school was opened in 1890, under the direction of Principal Maclean, B.Sc. The building, which is situated in George Street, is well designed; the class-rooms are large, well furnished, and well lighted; the laboratories are spacious, and provided with an abundance of the most recent apparatus; and the whole institution is admittedly one of the most splendid of its kind in the country. The governing body, which is thoroughly representative, consists of twenty governors. The institution has been presented with an admirable library of scientific and art books by Mr. James Coats, Junr., Ferguslie, and during last session (1907-1908) had upon its roll 600 students, most of whom attended at least two classes, and some three.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

Attention has already been directed to the various trade societies which were formed in the burgh between the years 1658 and 1781, and the remark made that they were practically benefit societies. It has also been seen that in 1569 the fleshers of the town formed themselves into a "mutual band and confederation" for the purpose chiefly of raising the price of meat, and that the mutual band and confederation was speedily suppressed by the bailies and Town Council, as hurtful to His Majesty's lieges. Of a merchant gild or of anything like the religious and social gilds which were so common in England and on the Continent in the middle ages, there is in Paisley no trace, and the probability is that before the formation of the trade societies referred to, nothing of the kind existed in the town.

Of the trade societies formed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, four only now remain. The Tailors', Shoemakers', Wrights', Fleshers', and Bakers', which, like the rest, after the passing of the Friendly Societies Acts of Parliament, began to have their affairs managed according to the rules prescribed by those Acts, have now ceased to exist. The surviving societies are the Weavers', Maltmen's, Hammermen's, and Merchants'. All these are now in a vigorous and flourishing condition.

The Tailors' Society, the oldest, and in some respects the most important among them, was instituted in 1658, and dissolved in 1858. It received three other charters from the Town Council: the second in 1664, and others in 1779 and 1821. Among the community, the society and its members seem to have been held in high esteem. Its

deacon, or box-master, was usually made a bailie, and one of the deacons, Robert Pow, of whom, or rather, of whose house we have already heard, was made a bailie eleven times, and appears to have had considerable influence in the town. The society was fairly wealthy. In 1700, it lent 500 merks to the Town Council, and, in 1703, purchased a piece of property from William Cochrane of Kilmarnock, called Margaret Langland's house, which stood at what is now 6 Moss Street, for 500 merks. Subsequently, Margaret Langland's house was pulled down, and another built upon the site, at a cost of 1,100 merks, known as the Tailors' Land. Half an acre of land which the society owned near Greenhill, was sold, in 1713, to Alexander Cochrane, for 250 merks; and, in 1723, it advanced the sum of 250 merks to the town to build an almshouse or hospital and its steeple, and to help to furnish the latter with a bell. When the old poorhouse was erected in the Sneddon, the society contributed £15 to the building fund, and promised a yearly subscription of £6 towards its maintenance. For the erection of the Laigh Church, in 1757, the society contributed 2,000 merks; and, in 1772, its members were extravagant enough to purchase a carpet for their seat in it, but were careful to charge the sitters—for they do not appear to have used it themselves—seven and a half per cent. on the cost of it as rent for its use. Two years later, a proposal to roup, or to sell the seat by auction, was considered. In 1778, the property of the society at the south corner of Moss Street and School Wynd cost them £500. In 1809, Messrs. James Hart and George M'Gown presented the society with a handsome silver snuff-box, which was ordered to be used at all future meetings of the trade, and to be kept by the deacon. After obtaining a new charter, in 1821, the society borrowed £1,500 from the Messrs. Neilson, merchants, one of whom was the founder of the John Neilson Institution, which was used in rebuilding part of the property at the corner of School Wynd and fronting Moss Street. For some time, however, the society, notwithstanding its new charter, had been in a decaying condition, and, after struggling on till 1858, its properties

were sold, and the proceeds, after all debts had been paid, were divided among the surviving members.

During the eighteenth century, the four following Masonic Lodges were established in the town: St. Mirin's, May 9, 1749; the Renfrew County Kilwinning, November 23, 1750; St. James's, 1773; and the Paisley Royal Arch, March 18, 1777. The Renfrewshire East Provincial Grand Lodge was instituted in 1826; the Abbey Royal Arch Chapter, No. 76, on March 5, 1856; and the Paisley Royal Arch Chapter, No. 112, in 1866. In 1881, a fine masonic hall was built on the north side of the High Street, at a cost of £6,000.

The Good Templars, in 1880, built a suite of halls for the accommodation of their societies, with an entrance in Dyers Wynd and another on Christie's Terrace. The cost of these was also £6,000.

There are also in the town, Lodges of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, of the Foresters, Oddfellows, Free Gardeners, and Druids. Other friendly and charitable societies are numerous.

In 1812, a Female Association for promoting the circulation of the Scriptures was formed in the town, under the management of Mrs. Carswell and Mrs. Cochrane. The Paisley Auxiliary Bible Society was instituted on March 11, 1813, and though supported chiefly by subscriptions of one penny per week, its income for the first year was £207 14s. 2d., which was disbursed as follows:—To the British and Foreign Bible Society, £70; to the Naval and Military Society, £20; to the Gaelic School Society, £20; to the Hibernian Society, £30; and to the Paisley and Eastern Renfrewshire Bible Society, to supply local wants, £40. This last society, the Paisley and Eastern Renfrewshire Society, was organized on May 17, 1813. Its first general annual meeting was held in the Low Church, on July 1, 1814, under the presidency of the Earl of Glasgow, Lord-lieutenant of the County. The secretaries were the Rev. Robert Burns, of the Low Church, and the Rev. James Thomson, minister of the New Relief congregation. Its income for the first year from all sources was £917 3s. 2d. Of this sum, £292 9s. 3d. was received

from benevolent and auxiliary societies, the Paisley Female Bible Association alone contributing £110. The Paisley Auxiliary Bible Society is still in vigorous operation.

In 1840, Miss Elizabeth Kibble, Greenlaw, Paisley, bequeathed to certain trustees the sum of £7,500, for the purpose of founding and endowing in Paisley an institution for the reclaiming of youthful offenders against the law; and the present school, known as Miss Kibble's Reformatory Institution, on the Greenock Road, was in consequence opened August 1, 1859. There is also an Industrial School in the same part of the town. It was opened in 1870, and was intended to accommodate 126 boys and 50 girls. A gift of £5,000 by Mr. John Clark, in 1896, enabled the directors to enlarge the buildings and to improve the accommodation. A new school is in process of erection.

The first Poorhouse or Hospital was built in the Sneddon, the Town Council and all the Trade Societies contributing liberally to its cost. It was opened in May, 1752. In 1786, the first public Dispensary in Paisley was opened, and a House of Recovery was opened in Bridge Street in 1804. Upon the same site, in 1850, the old Infirmary was built. A new and well equipped Infirmary, known as the Royal Alexandra Infirmary, has since been built in Lylesland. Near to it, within the same enclosure, a new Dispensary has been erected and a Nurses' Home, the latter a gift to the town from Peter Coats, Esq. Another gift of a similar kind is the Royal Victoria Eye Infirmary, built by Mr. Archibald Mackenzie, of Milliken, some time provost of the burgh.

In May, 1868, a Convalescent Home for patients discharged from the Infirmary, and other suitable applicants, was opened at West Kilbride. The institution has been largely taken advantage of, and, like the Infirmary and other similar institutions, has been the means of doing much good among the poorer classes. Another most beneficent institution of the kind in the town is the outdoor nursing scheme instituted and carried on by the trustees of the Peter Brough Bequest. By this scheme, the sick among the poor are visited and nursed in their homes by qualified nurses,

who do all that can be done by patient and skilful nursing to relieve their sufferings. The Home of the nurses is in Oakshaw Street. A Home for Incurables was, some years ago, opened at Meikleriggs. Two other institutions of an almost kindred nature are the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the Female Benevolent Society.

Other societies of a different kind are the Paisley Florist Society, established as far back as the year 1782; the Horticultural Society, formed in 1832; and the Ornithological Association, established in 1854.

Of literary and intellectual societies, there have been many, but few of them now remain, the rest having either died out or been absorbed into those that remain.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Town Council maintained a News Room "for the behoof" of the town. From the Treasurer's accounts, it appears that only one newspaper—the *Edinburgh Courant*, which was then published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays—was taken in. The News Room was probably in or near the Tolbooth. At any rate, it was there where men most did congregate, for the regulations made respecting the maintenance of the poor directed that the Collector's account "of the uplifting and disbursements" of the funds, after being made up, should be "publicly exposed in the News Room, the first Friday of each quarter of a year."[1] In 1751, the Town Council bought the property in the High Street, adjacent to the Tolbooth, and built upon its site a three-storey building, known first as the Town's House and then as the Saracen's Head Inn. In 1784, they resolved "to repair Mr. Drew's shop and to set it for a Coffee Room along with the Town's Inn." Here were the beginnings of what was to grow into a considerable thing.

The Coffee Room seems to have been kept open on Sundays, for in May, 1789, the Town Council directed Mr. Sinclair to "shut up the Coffee Room on Sabbaths,

[1] Town Council Records, April 25, 1740.

during the time of Divine Worship and till it be four in the afternoon." The Coffee Room remained in the Town's House till 1798, by which time the inn had been enlarged and fitted up with "a large ball-room." The subscription was then 16s. a year, and the number of subscribers was 169. In 1798, the *Edinburgh Courant* had been dropped, and, instead of being supplied with only one paper, there were to be seen in the News Room two copies of *The Sun*, *Star*, *Courier*, and *Morning Chronicle* from London, besides Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow newspapers.

From Mr. Drew's shop, or what had been his shop, the Coffee Room was removed, in 1798, to a shop at the Cross, which the subscribers bought for £800. By 1808, these premises had become inconveniently small. A capital sum of £9,000 was then raised, and the handsome building, the upper part of which is now used by the Savings Bank, was built in 1810. In 1847, the Paisley Athenæum was founded, but, after prospering for a while, its numbers fell off, and the remaining members joined the Coffee Room. This was closed in December 31, 1885. There are news rooms now at The Club, the Beaconsfield, Liberal, and New Clubs, and at the George A. Clark Town Hall.

Previous to the year 1802, there was no public library in the burgh, though books were lent out for reading by various booksellers. On May 14, in the year mentioned, the Paisley Library Society was formed. It began with 138 subscribers, who paid three guineas as entry-money and a yearly subscription of half a guinea. For a payment of ten guineas in a single sum, anyone could become a life-member. Twelve members, elected annually, formed the committee of management, and in any year they could purchase books to the amount of one-third of the society's income, the books purchased to be of high character and general utility, and non-professional. Any member refusing to act upon the committee, when chosen, was fined half a guinea, on payment of which he was set free from serving upon it in all time coming. In 1812, the society had prospered so far that it had 200 members and a collection of 3,000 volumes.

The Paisley Trades' Library was formed in 1806. As its name indicates, it was intended to provide reading chiefly for the working classes. It appears to have been in existence for about forty years. The subscription was six shillings a year.

There was also the Paisley Theological Library. It was instituted in 1808, for the purpose of forming "a collection of such books as are subservient to a religious knowledge of the Scriptures." In 1825, it had about 700 volumes, which were stored in the society's rooms at No. 25 Moss Street.

The Paisley Library Society, the books of which were ultimately transferred to the Free Library, appears to have been the centre in which originated the Paisley Philosophical Society. This society was instituted on October 13, 1808, at the time that Napoleon was gathering together an army ostensibly for the invasion of England. The leading spirit of the society was the Rev. Dr. W. Ferrier, then minister of the Anti-Burgher Church in Oakshaw Street. For a time he acted as president and secretary. Mr. Alexander Carlile succeeded him as secretary, and Mr. W. Robertson was the treasurer. Its first place of meeting was a hall in a back building at No. 7 Old Sneddon, where for twenty years it continued to accumulate books and scientific apparatus, and a collection of natural history specimens. In 1828, the society leased a hall in the abbey buildings, which was reached by an outside stair, and known as the Ranters' Kirk. Among its members at this time were Motherwell, poet and Sheriff-Clerk-Depute for Renfrewshire, and Dr. R. Watt, the author of the Bibliotheca Brittannica, the MS. of which is in the Free Library. Two years before the Philosophical Society removed to the Ranters' Kirk, the Mechanics' Institute was amalgamated with it. Public lectures, chiefly on scientific subjects, were given under the auspices of the society, and for a time it appears to have been extremely active; but, in 1849, in consequence partly of the Disruption of 1843, perhaps, and partly of the depression of trade, and no doubt through the operation of other causes, it became dormant, and remained so until 1857, when it was revived, and entered

upon what has been called "the most brilliant and fruitful part of its career." Its first resting-place after its resuscitation was in the School of Design. Here the courses of lectures were resumed, and materials for a museum were so rapidly collected, that the rooms used by the society soon became too small to hold them.

Fortunately, at this juncture Mr. (afterwards Sir) Peter Coats came to the assistance of the society, and offered to erect, at his own cost, buildings for a library and museum, if the inhabitants of the burgh would adopt the Free Libraries Act. A meeting of the electors of the burgh was held according to the Act, in the Gaelic Church, on March 19, 1867, when it was agreed by a majority of those present to adopt the Free Libraries Act. The erection of the Free Library and Museum was, therefore, at once begun in the High Street, opposite the house in which Professor Wilson was born, and on April 1, 1871, this magnificent gift to the community was formally opened.

The books of the Paisley Library Society and of the Paisley Philosophical Society formed the nucleus of the library in the new institution, and the sum of £1,600 was raised by public subscription for the purpose of furnishing the Reference Library with the best works of the time in literature and science. Since then, many other books of considerable value have been presented, both to the Lending and to the Reference Library. But the rarest and most precious gift the Library has received is that of the Arbuthnott MSS., which were presented to the institution by Mr. Archibald Coats, of Woodside, in 1898. Other valuable gifts of a similar kind were the Paisley Chartulary, presented by the Magistrates and Town Council; Mr. William Rowat's, Paisley, Buchanan, and Ramsay collections; a collection of Braile Books for the Blind, by Mr. James Coats, Junr., of Ferguslie; and the Lochwinnoch Cairn, by Miss Young. The Museum, also, has received many valuable gifts, among which may be noted the Robert M'Neilage Adam collection of Indian birds.

Additions have been made to the buildings of the institution more than once, but the most extensive and costly of these is the eastern wing of the building, which was erected and furnished by Sir James Coats, Bart., eldest son of Sir Peter, the original founder of the institution. By this addition, the Library has obtained a large and beautiful reading-room for men, another for women, and another for boys; a new indicator room, storage room for over 500,000 volumes, and other conveniences.

There are now in the Reference Library, 12,574 volumes; in the Lending Library, 23,953; in the Women's Reading-Room, 156; and in the Boys', 526—in all, 37,209 volumes.

The Philosophical Society meets in the Free Library and Museum; and in the Art Gallery of the same institution the yearly exhibitions of the Paisley Art Institute are held. In the Lecture Hall, courses of lectures are given during the winter months under the auspices of the Philosophical Society and of the Art Institute.

Behind the Free Library and Museum, and fronting Oakshaw Street, is the Observatory, built by Mr. Thomas Coats of Ferguslie. Within recent years, the Observatory has been supplied with a magnificent set of instruments by Mr. James Coats, Junr., of Ferguslie.

The Art Institute was formed on December 19, 1876, and, as might be expected in a town with the traditions of Paisley, has had a prosperous career. It holds an annual exhibition of local and other artists' works, gives prizes to its members, has lectures delivered, is trying to cultivate a taste for art among the young, and, unlike many institutions of the same kind, is in possession of a considerable sum of money, which it is intended to use for the advancement of art.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MISCELLANEOUS.

At first, as we have seen, there were two bailies in the burgh —one chosen by the superior and the other by the councillors. The number of town councillors at the time seems to have been, exclusive of the bailies, fifteen. In 1739, when the population of the burgh had increased to about 3,400, a third bailie was appointed, and the number of the town councillors increased from fifteen to sixteen.[1] In 1811, it was resolved, after the opinion of counsel had been taken, that in future the chief magistrate should assume the designation of Provost.

Hitherto the magistrates had worn no badge of office, but on October 22, 1811, the Town Council resolved "that it was now highly befitting the respectability of the town and necessary for maintaining the dignity and distinction of office, that gold chains, as now universally worn by the magistrates of other towns of note in the country, should also be procured at the community's expense for the magistrates of this Burgh." Accordingly, after some further consideration, four gold chains and badges were procured, at a cost of £116 2s. 6d. The chains and badges were all alike, except that in the provost's chain there was an extra link of gold. By the Burgh Act of 1833, the number of bailies was increased from three to four, and for a time the youngest of them remained badgeless and chainless. At last, after an official nakedness of thirty-three years, a subscription was made, and he was clothed with a chain and badge like his brethren. But, in 1882, on the complaint of Provost MacKean, that his insignia of office were not worthy of the importance to

[1] Town Council Records, May 11, 1739.

which Paisley had grown, and that at municipal gatherings, especially in London, he was fain to take them off and put them in his pocket, the Town Council resolved to clothe the provost more worthily, and in future to adorn the treasurer[1] with his cast-off chain. Still, there was something wanting in the official appearance of the provost, bailies, and town councillors; and, to satisfy their æsthetic taste as to the fitness of their habiliments, they resolved, in August, 1885, to supply themselves with gowns. Hats of the ancient form are still wanting, and the Town Council is still unprovided with either a sword or a mace.

On the occasion of George IV.'s visit to Edinburgh, in August, 1822, the Town Council voted an address to His Majesty, and the provost and magistrates were sent over to present it. The business occupied them twelve days, during which they maintained themselves in great state. Their expenses during their stay in Edinburgh, and for the journey there and back, cost the town £205 3s. 7d.[2]

When the use of the branks, stocks, and branding irons was discontinued, is uncertain; but the whip as an instrument for the punishment of criminals was in use down to comparatively recent times. In 1765, James Moody, innkeeper in Smithhills, was condemned to receive twenty-five lashes on his bare body from the common hangman at each of the following places: the head of New Street, the foot of New Street,

[1] Until 1801, the treasurer discharged all the duties of his office, receiving and paying all the accounts of the town, and collecting the public monies; but, in that year, a town chamberlain was appointed, by whom he was relieved of certain of his duties.

[2] At this period, the King's health on his birthday was always cordially and lavishly drunk. The magistrates and councillors stood on the stair-head at the Tolbooth and, in presence of the assembled crowd, drank His Majesty's health with great ceremony. When the drink was finished, the glasses used were flung down among the crowd. In 1794, the bill was as follows:—Port, 42 bottles, £5 10s.; porter, 5s.; 60 glasses (broken, of course), £1; 12 broken bottles, 2s.; ham and biscuits, £3 13s.; toddy, 15 pints, £8; punch, 12 pints, £8; officers, 9s.—£25 19s. in all. The bill, in 1796, was £25 13s.; and in 1799, £31 18s. 6d.

and the Cross. Afterwards, he was to be banished the shire. His crime was subornation of perjury. Five years later, Jean Montgomery was condemned to receive ten lashes upon her bare back at the same places, for resetting a piece of lawn and as a habit and repute resetter. A similar punishment was inflicted, in 1812, on Andrew Rowan, a tanner, for theft. After 1824, the practice appears to have been discontinued.

At the Michaelmas Head Court, October 15, 1756, the Town Council made the following appointments:—Fiscal, town clerk, lyners, visitors of the meal market, of the shoe market, of wheat, bread, butter, of iron work, of cowhides, of measures; keepers of the keys of the charter chest and of the standard weights; visitors of malt, of wright work, of the town's smith, town's wright, and town's mason; inspectors of bad yarn; visitors of thread and reels, of waterworks' keys; directors of poorhouse; master of works; and visitors of bad cloth. In October, 1760, they appointed six weavers "inspectors of ill counted yarn and cotton reels within the quarter, with power to inspect yarn and cotton brought into town as well as in shops." In order to improve the administration of justice, in May, 1767, they resolved to appoint an assessor to assist the magistrates. The first assessor was Mr. Islay Campbell, advocate, who held office till March 7, 1783, when he was succeeded by Mr. R. Cullen, advocate, who, on being appointed a Lord of Session, was succeeded by Mr. Robert Davidson, advocate.

In 1814, the Town Council took the wise step of ordering that in future accurate registers should be kept, in all the parishes, of marriages.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, there existed outside the ordinary courts of justice, another, known as the Convene Court. The only notice I have seen of it occurs in the Report of the Commissioners on Scottish Municipal Corporations of 1835-36.[1] The Commissioners

[1] ii. 287.

describe it as follows:—"The Convene Court (which is a court of advice, and does not enforce its decrees), is held daily. The magistrates, it was stated, had frequently endeavoured to put an end to this court, but the people are attached to it, and the magistrates have hitherto yielded to their wishes, by keeping it up. The mode in which it is conducted is, that any party conceiving himself to have a claim against another, obtains a summons calling him to answer before a convene court. This costs 6d. If the party summoned yields obedience to the citation (which is generally the case), the complaint and the answer are stated in the presence of the presiding magistrate, who gives his advice to the parties, who are required to state at the time whether they intend to adopt it or not, in order that, in the case of refusal, the pursuer may employ other measures." The visiting commissioner attended during one of the sittings of the court, and approved of the mode in which the cases were conducted. It was stated to him that from 400 to 500 cases were disposed of in the course of every year, and that, as a rule, the advice or decision given was adopted by the parties concerned. When this apparently useful court originated, or when it was discontinued, is not known. It appears to have been peculiar to Paisley.

Notwithstanding the strict regulations which the Town Council had made in 1661 for watching the burgh by night, the duty was for a time performed perfunctorily. Those whose turn it was to mount guard and perambulate the streets often sent substitutes, any number of whom could easily be had for a small sum. In 1792, the Council renewed their injunctions, and forbade substitutes to be employed, under a penalty of half-a-crown for each offence. Three years later, and again in 1800, a number of respectable citizens were appointed special constables and armed with batons. The number enrolled was about 500. They were under the command of the chief constable, who was entrusted with their direction and the keeping of the peace. Minute instructions and regulations were issued to them from time



INAUGURATION OF NEW CLISBOURN,

December 31, 1800.



INAUGURATION OF NEW GASHOLDER,

December 23, 1890.

to time,[1] and during the agitations of the first half of the nineteenth century these officials rendered good service. In 1806, the Police Act was passed, when the police force of the town was organized, consisting of a master of police, two sergeants, four corporals, a clerk, a surveyor of houses, and twelve night watchmen, who had to be on duty during the summer months from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M., and in winter—from October to March—from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M. The town was divided into nine wards, each of which had two commissioners, chosen by the householders of £5 rental and upwards. The magistrates and sheriff-substitute were commissioners *ex officio*. The suburbs were divided into six wards, for each of which there was one commissioner. The police district extended one mile in every direction beyond the bounds of the burgh proper. In the burgh, the police were under the control of the magistrates, but in the suburbs, under that of the sheriff of the county. The assessment ran from sixpence to a shilling in the pound, according to the rental. In 1864, the General Police Act was adopted. Since then, the police force has from time to time been increased. Its strength in 1900 was 85, of whom 84 had received instruction in ambulance work. In 1905, the strength was 97, including one chief constable, one superintendent, one lieutenant, two inspectors in uniform, one detective inspector, one detective sergeant, two detective officers, seven sergeants, and eighty-one constables.

Until about the year 1756, the streets after nightfall were in darkness. The Town Council Records for the month of

[1] Notwithstanding the precise instructions given to them and to the chief constable, those who watched the town at night were not apparently any improvement upon their predecessors in office. Mr. W. Carlile states that, instead of attending in the guard-house and perambulating the streets, "the guards are sometimes found to be the most noisy of any who are found in the streets," and frequently "houses and shops have been broken into at no great distance, without the perpetrators being discovered or restrained by the guards, who were probably enjoying themselves around a good fire with shut doors."—Brown, History of Paisley Grammar School, 61. The watchmen seem to have been of the true Dogberry type.

November in that year contain the following resolution:—"The magistrates and council, considering how much the town is in want of lamps for the service of the inhabitants in the winter, and how necessary lamps are in the night-time of that season, have, therefore, after the good example of other burghs, resolved, and hereby resolve, that a competent number of lamps be immediately purchased for the use and service of the inhabitants of the burgh, not exceeding thirty, and appoint the magistrates to agree with tradesmen for the same, and the expense of making and setting up the said lamps to be advanced from the town's common stock, but with the provision that the said lamps shall be maintained at the expense of the inhabitants in oil and wicks for keeping the same burning; and the inhabitants shall also pay at their own expense the person or persons to be appointed by the magistrates and council for cleaning, keeping, and lighting the said lamps." The thirty oil lamps would suffice to make the darkness visible, but they were certainly better than none. Whether this thrifty resolution was immediately carried out, is uncertain. William Semple, who published in 1782 a new edition of Crawfurd's History of Renfrewshire, says that "in 1768, the town erected a number of lamps to give light to the streets." On October 25, 1786, the Council contracted with James Borland, merchant in Glasgow, who was "to light the lamps in the town for three years, at three halfpence per lamp each night, and furnish oil, etc."

The town was first lighted with gas in 1825. Twenty years later, the gasworks became a public trust. Under skilful management, it has become a profitable undertaking. Electric lighting was introduced in 1900, and electric cars in June 13, 1904.

Before the year 1838, the water supply of the town was drawn chiefly from wells and from the several burns that remained uncontaminated. The supply was defective, and many plans were suggested and discussed for providing the town with better water, and a more adequate supply. At last, in 1834, it was resolved to adopt a plan suggested by Dr. Kerr,



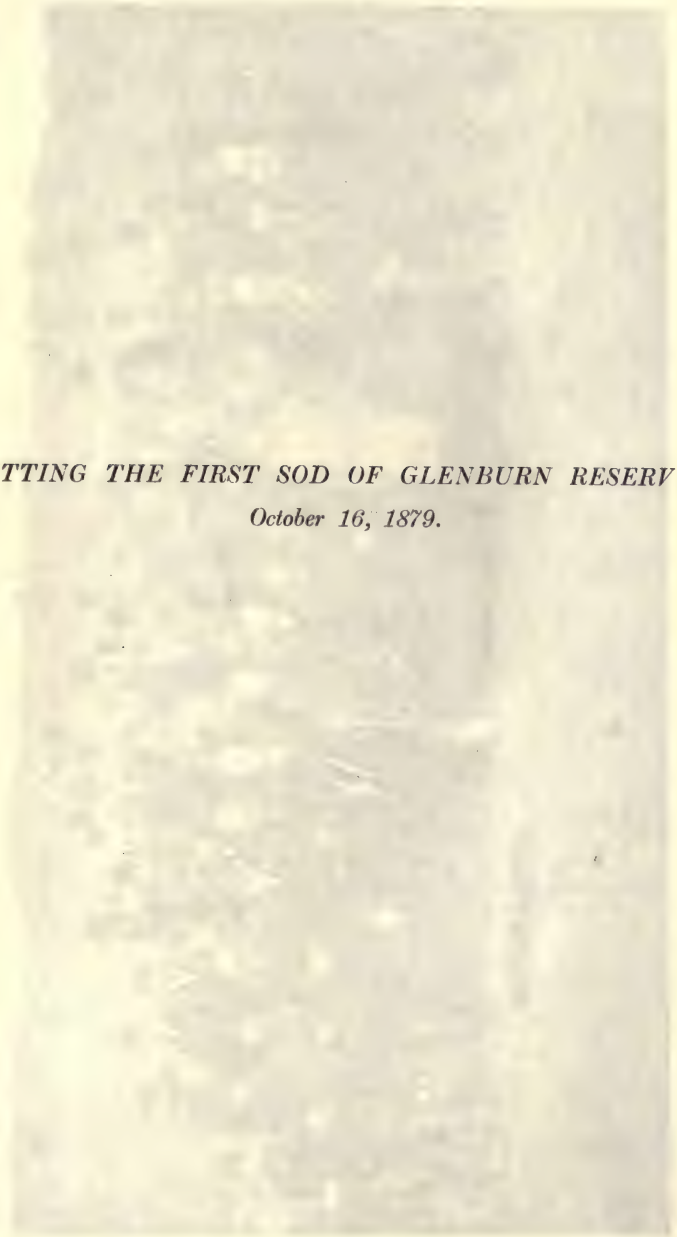
CUTTING THE FIRST SOD OF CAMPHILL RESERVOIR,
April 12, 1883.

November in that year contain the following resolution:—"The magistrates and townsfolk considering how much the town is in want of lamps for the service of the inhabitants in the winter, and how necessary lamps are in the night-time of that season, have, therefore, after the good example of other burghs received, and hereby resolve, that a competent number of lamps be immediately purchased for the use and service of the inhabitants of the burgh, not exceeding thirty, and appoint the magistrates to agree with tradesmen for the same, and the expense of making and setting up the said lamps to be observed over the town's common seals, but with the provision that the said lamps shall be maintained at the expense of the inhabitants to all time coming, the keeping the same burning; and the inhabitants shall also pay at their own expense 6d. pound or pennies to be appointed by the magistrates and council for dressing, keeping and lighting the said lamps. The duty of the lamps would suffice to make the darkness visible, but they were certainly little more. Whether the resolution was immediately carried out is uncertain. William Semple, who published in 1784 a new edition of Crawford's History of Renfrewshire, says that "in 1780, the town resolved a number of lamps to give light to the streets." On October 26, 1780, the Council "contracted with James Barbour, merchant in Glasgow, who was" to light the lamps "in the best manner for three years, at three halfpence per lamp each night, and thereof all, etc."

The town was first lighted with gas in 1825. Twenty years later the gaswork became a public trust. Under skilful management, it has become a profitable undertaking. Electric lighting was introduced in 1900, and electric cars in June 15, 1904.

Before the year 1801, the water supply of the town was drawn chiefly from wells and from the several burns that wandered unredeemed. The supply was defective, and many plans were suggested and discussed for providing the town with better water, and a more adequate supply. At last, in 1811, it was resolved to adopt a plan suggested by Dr. Cross





CUTTING THE FIRST SOD OF GLENBURN RESERVOIR,
October 16, 1879.

CUTTING THE FIRST SOD OF CLEVELAND RESERVOIR,

October 10, 1878.





INAUGURATION OF WATERWORKS (RYE SCHEME),

May 26, 1891.

by which a large reservoir was to be constructed at Stanely Castle, and a smaller one at the head of Calside. From the Stanely reservoir the water was to be conducted through stone conduits to the smaller reservoir at the head of Calside, where, after being filtered, it was to be distributed through the town by iron pipes. The proposal was sanctioned by Parliament in 1835, and the sluices at Stanely reservoir were opened on Friday, July 13, 1838. Since then, the work of supplying the burgh with water has been taken in hand by the Town Council, and extensive improvements made. At the present time the supply is ample, and the quality excellent. The reservoir at Calside has been disused. The water is now collected in and distributed from the following reservoirs — Stanely, Harelaw, Glenburn, Rowbank, and Camphill. Together, these reservoirs are capable of holding close upon 1500 million gallons.

In 1835, the local taxes levied were (1) Customs, flesh-market dues, fines for the entries of burgesses and stallingers, levied in virtue of the ancient charters of the burgh; (2) Tonnage dues, levied under the authority of the local Act of 1787; (3) Conversion money levied in lieu of statute labour in virtue of several Acts of Parliament, of which the last was passed in 1805; and (4) Assessments for the support of the poor levied under the authority of the common law, as in other parishes. Beyond these, no other rates or taxes were levied by the Town Council, except on particular occasions, as for repairing damage done during riots, or for the prevention of cholera. For the ten years preceding 1835, the average sums raised from the different sources were as follows:—

Poor's Money, - - -	£2,096	7	3
Statute Labour, - - -	475	15	$10\frac{1}{12}$
Market Customs, - - -	194	2	$5\frac{1}{12}$
Tonnage, - - - -	268	0	0
Flesh Market Dues, - -	75	0	$3\frac{6}{12}$
Burgess Entries, - - -	129	14	8
In all, - - - -	£3,239	0	$5\frac{8}{12}$

These taxes were levied only within the ancient boundaries of the burgh, as described in the original charter. The Newtown on the other side of the Cart, was exempted from them, as well as from the exclusive privileges of the burgesses and stallingers.[1] All that is now changed. The same rates are now levied within the whole of the modern municipal boundaries, and, as showing the immense strides which the burgh has taken since the visit of the Commissioners in 1835, it may be mentioned that the total income of the burgh for the year 1905 was £217,848, and for the year 1907 £222,852.

Bad as the condition of the streets in the burgh was in the first half of the eighteenth century, that of the roads in the neighbourhood, as well as throughout Scotland, was worse. For the most part, they were mere tracks. "The highways were tracks of mire in wet weather, and marshes in winter, till the frost had made them sheets of ice, covered with drifted snow; when rain fell, the flat ground became lakes with islands of stone, and the declivities became cataracts. Even towns were often connected only by pack roads, on which horses stumbled perilously along, and carriages could not pass at all, over unenclosed land and moorland, where, after rain, it was difficult to find any beaten track."[2] The statute of 1719, which enjoined able-bodied men in every district to give six days' labour in improving the highways—hence called "Statute Labour Roads"—was quietly ignored, and the utmost that could be got in most places, was a few hours grudging labour on what was known as "Parish road day."[3] Goods were conveyed from one place to another on horseback, sledges, and tumbrils. Carts did not come into use till about 1723, and in many places in the Lowlands not till 1760, while in the north sledges continued to be used, and creels, borne on the backs of women down to the end of the eighteenth century and later.

In 1753, a Turnpike Act was obtained, and subsequently two others, for building a bridge at Inchinnan, and for

[1] Report of Com. on Municipal Corporations (Scotland), ii. 286.

[2] Graham, i. 39. [3] Graham, i. 167.

making roads from Glasgow to Greenock, and from the three-mile house to Clark's Bridge on the Beith road. The latter bridge was erected in 1759. Before the erection of these bridges, the crossings were by fords or ferries. Before the Barnsford Bridge was built in 1793, the traffic between Paisley and Greenock was by Inchinnan. Pedestrians had a shorter road through Paisley Moss, and across the Gryffe at Barnsford by a ford or ferry. The Town Council contributed £100 towards the building of the Barnsford Bridge.[1]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, there appears to have been a "diligence" as well as a carrier's cart plying between Paisley and Glasgow. The carrier started daily in 1783 from Finlay's, Trongate, and the diligence set out from Pinkerton & Dunbar's, Trongate, twice a day, Sundays excepted. For the accommodation or protection of the coaches, the Town Council provided shelters or "shades." By 1812, the traffic between Paisley and the surrounding country had largely increased. There were regular conveyances not only between the places already named, but also to Edinburgh, Dalry, Saltcoats, Kilmarnock, Largs, Irvine, Mauchline, and other places.

The first stage coach owned in Paisley appears to have been placed upon the road between Paisley and Glasgow by Mrs. Graham, then tenant of the Saracen's Head Inn, on July 13, 1780. It rejoiced in the name of "The Paisley and Glasgow Fly," and was made "to hold six persons with ease." Four days in the week it left Paisley at 8.45 A.M., and Glasgow at 5.45 P.M. On Thursday and Saturday it made two journeys each way, leaving Paisley at 7.45 A.M. and 4.45 P.M., and Glasgow at 9.45 A.M., and 6.45 P.M. The fare was one shilling each journey. On June 27, 1782, Alexander Ewing, vintner at the Saracen's Head Inn, Greenock, started to run a new diligence between Greenock and Paisley daily. It left Greenock at 8 A.M., and Paisley at 8 P.M. Here the fare was four shillings each way. Other coaches were subsequently

[1] Town Council Records, January 21, 1793.

advertised to run between Paisley and Glasgow. In 1785, one was advertised to run there and back six times a day, Wednesday excepted. Six years later, a coach was running between Glasgow and Ayr by Paisley, Beith, and Irvine, and in 1812, five coaches ran daily from Glasgow to Greenock through Paisley, while in 1820, there were nine coaches running between Paisley and Glasgow, one of which left Paisley on Mondays at 4 A.M. for the convenience of the fleshers, and in 1824, no fewer than thirty-two coaches competed for the passenger traffic between Glasgow and Paisley, charging outside passengers, 1s., and inside passengers, 1s. 6d.

Long before this, however, the desirability of having an easier and cheaper mode of conveyance for goods and passengers from Glasgow and the towns of Renfrewshire to the mouth of the Clyde, had forced itself upon public attention. As early as 1791, it was held by many that the formation of a canal from Saltcoats to Paisley and Glasgow would be a great public convenience, and the line of one was traced out. In 1803, Paisley Town Council contributed £5 towards defraying the cost of making a survey in connection with the proposed canal, and in the following year addressed to the Committee having charge of the business, a memorandum on the propriety of making the section of the canal between Glasgow and Paisley in a straight line. Surveys, plans, and estimates, for the entire undertaking, were obtained from Telford, the celebrated engineer, and brought before the public by the Earl of Eglinton, who was in reality the prime mover in the matter. The length of the canal was to be 31¾ miles, and the cost was estimated at £125,000. In 1806, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the construction of the canal between Glasgow, Paisley, and Ardrossan, with a branch to Hurlet. The share capital was fixed at £140,000, and power was given to borrow £30,000 more, if required. Shares to the amount of only £43,000 were applied for. Nevertheless, it was resolved to build the canal from Glasgow to Paisley and Johnstone. The estimated cost of this portion of the undertaking was £49,000, but before it was finished, £100,000 had been expended upon it. The Town

Council of Paisley had implicit faith in the success of the work, and on September 5, 1809, "agreed to guarantee with the other holders of shares any sum which it might be found necessary to borrow for the completion of that public and useful undertaking." Work was begun in 1807, and the canal was opened for traffic on November 6, 1810. Four days later, the day being Martinmas day, on which one of the fairs was held, the *Countess of Eglinton*, on her arrival in Paisley from Johnstone, was capsized by the eagerness of the crowd to get on board, and eighty-seven persons were drowned. The canal was formally opened with much ceremony on October 4, 1811. Throughout most of its course the canal was 28 feet broad, though in places it was much narrower, and 4½ feet deep. Passenger boats carrying 120 passengers took two hours to go between Paisley and Glasgow; but in 1832, a lighter kind of boat, drawn by two horses and carrying 100 passengers, did the journey in about half the time. The number of passengers carried in 1831 was 79,455, and in 1836, 423,186. The goods carried in 1831 amounted to 48,191 tons, and in 1836, to 67,305 tons. At the same time, small passenger boats carried passengers down the Cart to the steamers plying on the Clyde. In 1834, 46,680 passengers are said to have been carried in this way.

Paisley's first railway connection was with Renfrew. The Act of Parliament authorizing the construction of the railway was obtained in 1835. Operations were begun on September 29 in the same year, and the line was opened for traffic on April 3, 1837. It was not a success. In 1840, it was paying so badly that locomotive power had to be abandoned for horse power. In 1870, it was connected with the Glasgow and Paisley Joint line. Owing to the severe competition of the electric cars, it is now practically closed, except for goods traffic, only two passenger trains a day being run upon it.

In 1837, a company obtained Parliamentary powers to construct a railway from Glasgow to Greenock, while another

company obtained similar powers to build a railway between Glasgow and Ayr. Both lines were to pass through Paisley, and the part between Paisley and Glasgow became the joint property of the two companies. This part of the two undertakings was opened on July 13, 1840. Since then, the town has been connected with the entire system of railways throughout the country; the route of the canal has been followed by a railway, with a station near the head of Causeyside Street; a branch runs to Potterhill and Barrhead and Glenfield; and a circular railway, from Gilmour Street station round by Barrhead to the St. James' station of the Caledonian Railway Company's line to Greenock, has been constructed.

The first post office in Paisley was in Moss Street, at what is now No. 43. The postmaster was Thomas Kerr, and the office remained among his descendants for three generations. For many years the mails were conveyed between Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock by mail coach; but, in 1814, the coaches were discontinued, and the mail bags were conveyed by a boy on horseback. The change called forth many remonstrances, and, after a while, the old method of conveyance was resumed. In 1829, the accommodation for the increased business of the post office at 43 Moss Street was found too small, and the office was removed to No. 5 Christie's Terrace. Seven years later, it was removed to Gilmour Street. In 1876, a new post office was opened at the foot of St. Mirin's Street; but, the accommodation proving inadequate, a new office was built in the County Square, in 1893. There are now several branch offices throughout the town, and a number of pillars for the posting of letters.

In October, 1783, the first bank was opened in Paisley. It belonged to the Paisley Banking Company, which consisted of six merchants of Paisley and three who belonged to Glasgow, where all the banking business had previously been done. Five years later (1788), the Paisley Union Bank was opened. In the following year, a number of notes on the Paisley Banking Company were forged, and a man named



OAKSHAW, FROM ST. JAMES STREET, 1860.

GARSCUBE, FROM ST. JAMES STREET, 1800.


LOUDON

Provan, of the parish of Dreghorn, was committed to prison for circulating them. Two years later, a parcel containing notes of the Union Bank, to the amount of £500, was stolen from the London mail coach, between London and Carlisle. The Commercial Bank of Scotland opened a branch office in the town on April 12, 1825, at 51 Moss Street. After a few years it was closed, but was re-opened in 1876, at 8 Causeyside Street. Its office is now on the site of the ancient steeple, where the business of the City of Glasgow Bank was formerly carried on. The Western Bank of Scotland opened a branch office on July 6, 1832, in New Smithhills Street. The Bank of Scotland acquired the property at the foot of St. Mirin's Street, known as the Turf Inn, opened new premises on the same site, on March 8, 1836, and removed to its existing premises when St. Mirin's Street was made. In May, 1837, the Paisley Banking Company transferred its business to the British Linen Company. A branch of the Union Bank of Glasgow was opened in Christie's Buildings, in 1834. Four years later, the Paisley Union Bank was amalgamated with it. The same year (1838), the Paisley Commercial Banking Company was established, with a capital of £200,000; but, in 1844, it was amalgamated with the Western Bank of Scotland. The following year, the Clydesdale Banking Company opened a branch office in Causeyside Street. When the Western Bank suspended payment, in December, 1857, the National Bank of Scotland took over its business in the town. A branch of the City of Glasgow Bank was opened in Moss Street, at the Cross, in 1857, and afterwards removed to the new office built on the site of the old steeple, which the bank had acquired in 1869. The branch office of the Royal Bank of Scotland was opened in 1872, in the School of Design Buildings in Gilmour Street, but soon afterwards removed to its present office, in St. Mirin's Street.

After the efforts made at the close of the eighteenth century to improve the navigation of the Cart, nothing further was done till the year 1835, except that during the dark years of 1826 and 1827 a number of the unemployed weavers

were engaged repairing the towing-paths, and that in 1832-3 some money was spent in improving the drawbridge at Inchinnan. At the request of the Town Council, Mr. Hughes, C.E., in 1834, submitted plans and estimates for so improving the navigation that vessels which could then come to Paisley at high water, might in future come to it at low water. From this bold undertaking, however, the Council shrunk, and adopted an alternative plan, by which, at a cost of £8,000, the depth of the river at ordinary spring tides would be nine feet. This plan was approved by a public meeting, and an Act of Parliament was applied for, and obtained on June 17, 1835, authorizing the Town Council to carry on the necessary works and to borrow money for the purpose, to the amount of £13,000. Work was at once begun, and within five years over £20,000 had been spent, when the financial affairs of the town having reached a crisis, in December, 1841, the Cart Trustees were obliged to stop payment. Their affairs were not set right till the Act of Parliament, by which the financial affairs of the town were arranged, was obtained, in July, 1843. A subsequent Act of Parliament empowered the Town Council to levy a rate of 3d. per £ of rental on the inhabitants, for the improvement of the river. A company was formed to act in conjunction with the Town Council and, after the expenditure of a considerable sum of money upon the work, the river was, on May 25, 1891, declared open for ocean-going vessels; but, unfortunately, on that same day, the *Joseph*, a steamer of nearly 900 tons, having sailed up the river, grounded at the entrance to the harbour. In the meantime, the idea of making the Cart navigable for ocean-going vessels seems to be abandoned. The company formed to co-operate with the Corporation is in process of being wound up.

For many years, as we have seen, Paisley depended on papers published in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places for its supply of news. About the beginning of the nineteenth century the want of a local paper began to be felt,

and on October 9, 1814, the first number of the *Paisley Advertiser* appeared. Its first editor was James Goldie. From March 25, 1826, it was edited by W. Kennedy; and from May 24, 1828, by Motherwell, who, in November, 1830, became editor of the *Glasgow Courier*. As editor of the *Advertiser*, Motherwell was succeeded by Robert Hay. On February 15, 1823, appeared the first number of *The Observer*. It was published by J. Mitchell, Wellmeadow. In 1825, appeared the *Renfrewshire Chronicle*, which died in the year it was born. In 1844, the *Paisley Advertiser* became the *Renfrewshire Advertiser*, but ceased to be issued in 1850. The *Western Independent and Paisley, Johnstone, and Renfrewshire Newsman* sent out its first number on February 13, 1834, but lived only a few months. About the same time appeared the *Glasgow Saturday Evening Post and Paisley and Renfrewshire Reformer*. It was published in Glasgow and Paisley, and was ultra-Radical in politics. After the stoppage of the *Paisley Advertiser* in 1850, no newspaper was issued in Paisley for three years. The *Paisley Journal* appeared for the first time on May 28, 1853. Next came the *Paisley Herald*, on July 9 of the same year. The last number of the *Journal* was published on May 7, 1857. In the year preceding, the *Renfrewshire Independent* had been started, June 14, 1856. On October 29, 1864, the *Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette* began to be published, and is still in existence. Less fortunate was the *Paisley and Renfrewshire Standard*. It began on May 1, 1869, and stopped on February 25, 1871; but, reviving on the fourth of the following month as the *Western Standard and Renfrewshire Observer*, it continued its career till August 30, 1879. The *Paisley Herald* continued to issue till the end of 1883, when it was amalgamated with the *Paisley Gazette*, which is now known as the *Paisley and Renshire Gazette and Paisley Herald*.

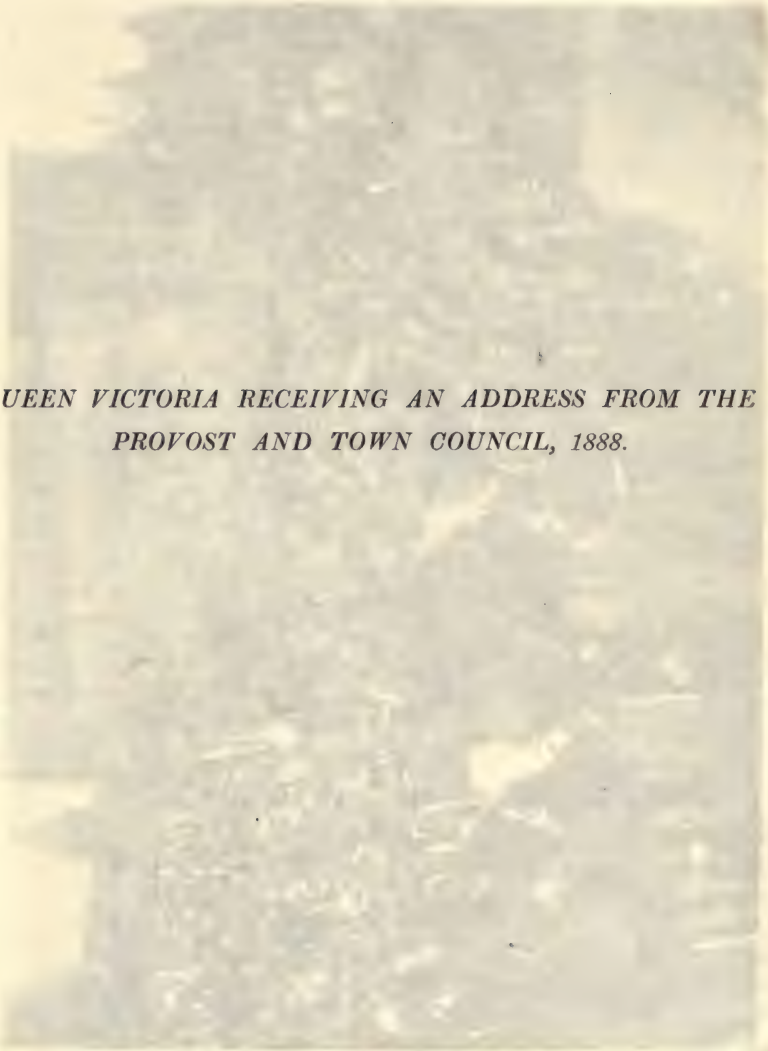
All the foregoing were weekly newspapers. On September 1, 1874, the *Paisley Daily Express* was started as an afternoon and evening paper, and still issues. The *Paisley*

Telegraph, another evening paper, began on December 25, 1880, and was discontinued on April 15, 1881.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of serials was published in Paisley. Among them may be mentioned *The Annual Miscellany and Literary Recreations*, 1812; *Paisley Repository*, 1812; *The Gaberlunzie*, 1814; *Weavers' Magazine*, 2 vols., 1817-19; *Paisley Literary Miscellany*, 1823; *Moral and Literary*, 1823; *The Comet*, 1823; *The Tickler*, 1828; *The Paisley Magazine*, which was edited by Motherwell, the poet, 1828; *The Renfrewshire Annual*, 1842; *The Paisley Observer* (illustrated), 1855; and *The Temple Lamp*, a monthly serial, edited by the Rev. J. B. Dickson, in 1856. During the second half of the century, from 1882 to 1900, the *Scottish Review*, a literary quarterly journal, the most important publication ever issued in Paisley, was published by Mr. Alexander Gardner, and edited by the present writer. The set of 72 numbers is now exceedingly scarce.

By the Police Act of 1806, to which reference has already been made, power was given to the Town Council to open up a new street, from the Cross to Causeyside Street; but the cost of this threatened to be so great, that many years had to elapse before anything of the kind could be carried out. On October 27, 1823, what the Town Council hesitated to take in hand, was proposed to be undertaken by a private company; but even that failed, and it was not till after the passing of the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, that the Commissioners of Police, as constituted under the Act, began the work so long delayed. In 1864, they began to buy up the old properties in St. Mirin's Wynd and Causeyside, and in 1871 the tenants were warned out. The result was that a new, and, for the time spacious, street was opened and called St. Mirin's Street. Previous to this, however, a street had been opened up from the old County Buildings to Dyers' Wynd, and thence through the ancient passage, nine feet wide, known as Lillie's Wynd and "Hole in the Wa'," to the north side of the bridge.





QUEEN VICTORIA RECEIVING AN ADDRESS FROM THE PROVOST AND TOWN COUNCIL, 1888.

Lillie's Wynd was widened in 1845, and the entire street named after Provost Gilmour. The Coffee Room Buildings were built in 1809; but the Union Bank was not built till 1846, after Lillie's Wynd had been opened up. The British Linen Company's Bank was built in 1847, the same year as the Government School of Design was built. The foundation stone of the County Buildings in County Square was laid on October 3, 1818. The new County Buildings in St. James' Street were erected in 1885, at a cost of £22,000. The new Drill Hall was opened in 1896; the George A. Clark Town Hall, the gift of the Clark family, was built in 1882; the Royal Alexandra Infirmary, in May, 1900.

The High Street is now being widened; the Dunn Square has been formed, and presented to the town by Sir William Dunn, Bart.; Johnston Street has been formed; Causeyside Street and Orchard Street have been widened and rebuilt; and other improvements have been made or are in process of execution.

In 1888, the late Queen Victoria, who visited the burgh on August 23 in that year, caused a monument to be built in the ruined choir of the Abbey church, in memory of the members of the royal house of Stuart who lie buried within the Abbey precincts. Other monuments are those which have been raised in honour of Tannahill, the poet; Robert Burns; Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist and poet; Mr. George A. Clark, Sir Peter Coats, Mr. Thomas Coats, and Queen Victoria. This last was presented to the town by Dr. Hunter.

The town has at present four parks—the Brodie Park, in the south; St. James Park, in the north; the East End Park; and Staneley Green. In addition to these there are the Fountain Gardens, which were presented to the town by Mr. Thomas Coats, May 26, 1868.

CHAPTER XXXV.

LITERARY.

The first author connected with Paisley, so far as appears to be known, was Patrick Adamson or Constant, the first Protestant minister of the town. In 1574, he turned Calvin's Catechism into Latin heroics. A collected edition of his works appeared in 1619. In 1580, two years after his settlement in Paisley, Mr. Thomas Smeaton, third minister of the town, and afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow, received from the King the sum of £100 as a reward for a treatise he wrote in refutation of Archibald Hamilton's *De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos.*[1] Mr. Thomas Blackwell, one of his successors in the ministry of Paisley, and afterwards Principal of the University of Aberdeen, was an author of some note in his day. His *Schema Sacrum*, or the Sacred Scheme of Natural and Revealed Religion, was one of the first books printed in Paisley. It was he, it will be remembered, who played so distinguished a part in the prosecutions for witchcraft in the county during the second half of the seventeenth century. Since Mr. Blackwell's time, Paisley has had an almost unbroken stream of authors, the most distinguished among them being Tannahill, Motherwell, and Professor Wilson.

Previous to the year 1769, most of the printing required in Paisley was done in Glasgow, where the art was introduced in 1630. In 1769, Paisley printed its first book. This was An Essay on Christ's Cross and Crown, to which were added six sermons. It was the work of the Rev. George Muir, minister of the Gospel at Paisley, and was the second edition of the work. According to the title page, it was printed by A. Weir & A. M'Lean, and sold at the shop of A. Weir,

[1] Records of Privy Council, xiv. 349.

near the Cross. In the same year, a third edition of Ascanius was printed by the same firm, "for James Donaldson & Co., Fergusley, near Paisley." In the same year, also, was issued A Prophecy Concerning the Lord's Return. The printer's name is not given, but it was "printed for and sold by George M'Kinnon, travelling merchant, 1769." In the same year, too, were printed an edition of Blackwell's Schema Sacrum, and Dying Thoughts, by the late William Crawford, by Messrs. A. Weir & A. M'Lean, for A. Weir, bookseller, at the Cross. The French Convert was printed in 1771; and in 1774, a translation of Don Quixote[1] was printed and sold in the burgh by Alex. Weir. Since then, the press in Paisley has been constantly busy, and many important works have been printed. One firm, at least, has gained a name for the excellence of its work and for the number and value of its publications.

The magazines and newspapers published in the burgh have already been enumerated. The following, which does not claim to be exhaustive, is a list of authors who have been connected with Paisley, and of their works :—

Abercrombie, William—Calendar and Interest Tables: Paisley, 1870.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

BUILDING AND STREET-NAMES.

During the fifteen or twenty centuries of its existence, the town of Paisley, while gradually extending its borders, has undergone many internal alterations; many old buildings have been swept away, and the general aspect of the burgh has been considerably changed.

The history of the building of the burgh may be divided into five periods, viz.—(1) From its foundation to the building of the Abbey; (2) from the building of the Abbey to the time of Abbot John de Lithgow; (3) from Abbot de Lithgow's time to the year 1750; (4) from 1750 to 1870; and (5) from 1870 to the present time.

During the first of these periods, the town or village was confined entirely to the bank of the White Cart to the east of the mill of Paisley, in what is now called Seedhill. It consisted of a number of huts, in which the Celtic inhabitants of the time found shelter. Near or in the midst of them were the church of S. Mirin, the churchyard and the house of the priest, which at first and for many years was probably no better than the huts of the people.

The building of the monastery would contribute largely to the increase and development of the village. The Cluniacs, and the Benedictines generally, unlike the Cistercians, did not object to towns growing up in the neighbourhood of their monasteries. As a rule, they were not handicraftsmen, and in order to obtain craftsmen to supply their wants, they held out attractions to induce artisans to settle near them. Statistics for the progress of the town during this early period of its existence do not exist, but the Rental Roll of the Abbey, begun by Abbot Crichton, together with the Chartulary, leave no doubt that during the second period mentioned above, or by the middle of the fifteenth century,

the population of the town had spread from Seedhill to Crossflat, and to the western side of the Cart.

The first feu or lease on the west side of the Cart was taken off by Dr. Gilchrist in 1404. It ran from the Espedair northward to the abbey orchard, and from the corner of Gordon Street or what used to be Gordon's Loan, or Lane, in Causeyside Street, where his wife, Emma Logan, had a house, to the junction of the Espedair with the Cart. In April, 1460, Gilchrist was dead. His widow had then, besides three houses, two gardens, one called *le* Craghall and the other *le* Calsa syde. She had a tenement also at Ruchbank. Craghall, in the garden of which stood the house of Craghall, was situated to the east of the orchard. A charter obtained by John de Schelis, in August, 1432, by which he obtained a piece of land belonging to the chaplain of the altar of Our Lady, on S. Mirin's Burn, brings to light the fact that Thomas Redhead, Andrew Smith, and John Cook were already resident there. In the same way, the charter which Bailie Robert Cavers obtained in November, 1489, of Cavers- or Sclatt-bank, shows that at that date Mossgait or Mossraw was in existence. One Alan Sunderland is mentioned in the charter, as having a tenement in it. School Wynd, or as it was then called, the Bornyard and the Common Passage, the passage, *i.e.*, to the Common, or as it is now called, Stoney Brae, were also in existence, as were also St. Mirin's, or the Water, Wynd, Causeyside, the King's Highway or the High Street, and Wellmeadow.

In 1490, when Abbot George Shaw received permission to feu certain of the abbey lands, and erected the town into a burgh, no fewer than fifty-six feus were given off on the west side of the Cart. In the following year, twelve more were given off, and before the year 1520, some fifty others.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, Paisley was in its glory as a mediæval town. By the Reformation its aspect was changed. The abbey was left in ruins, the chapels within and around the burgh were destroyed, and every symbol of the old religion was swept away. Still, the

following century was one of progress. When, in 1658, the superiority of the town was acquired from Lord Dundonald, one hundred and twenty-six superiorities were purchased by the Town Council, and the common land was let in two hundred and two sections. In 1750, the town had so overpassed its ancient limits, that the ports or gates of the burgh were removed, as strangers coming from without were, except at the bridge, within the burgh before they had reached them.

The hundred years that followed saw great changes in the aspect of the town. During this period the town extended on all sides. Not only were Maxweltown, Charleston, Ferguslie, and Underwood built, but also the Newtown on the east side of the Cart was laid off in streets and partly built; the Tolbooth steeple was taken down, and the municipal boundaries were extended.

Since then, or during the last sixty years, still greater changes have taken place in the general aspect of the burgh. The old mill remains, but the ancient village of Paisley in Seedhill, the fuller's mill, and the school that were once there, have disappeared. Causeyside Street has been altered out of all recognition, the Corsehouse, in front of which once stood the cross of S. Ninian, has been pulled down, Gordon's Loan, along which traffic was once led to the Black Ford, is now unrecognisable; Prussia Street, Orchard Street, and New Street, have ceased to be what they were; the High Street has in parts been widened and lined with new and handsome buildings; Wellmeadow and Broomlands are marked down for alterations similar to those effected in the High Street; and in Broomlands some of the proposed alterations have been already made. The part west of Dyers Wynd from Gilmour Street to Moss Street has been demolished, and the space at the Cross has thus been made double the size of what it used to be. The ancient Market Cross was removed as far back as the year 1692, and not a vestige of it appears to have survived destruction. On the opposite side of the river, Abbey Close has been widened and adorned with the George A. Clark Town Hall.

Lastly, to mention no other, the Abbey Church presents, both externally and internally, quite a different appearance from what it did fifty years ago.

In the foregoing pages, reference has been made from time to time to houses and structures which have been removed, in order to make way for alterations and improvements, or for other reasons. Before proceeding to treat of the street-names, it may not be out of place to refer to a number of other alterations.

Some changes have occurred in the physical features both of the town and of its immediate neighbourhood, which are not without interest. At first the village of Paisley lay in the heart of the forest. Opposite to the abbey, where the main part of the town now lies, was a wood forming part of the Forest of Paisley, which spread west as far as the moors about Kilmacolm, and south to Staneley Wood and the Fereneze Forest, and on the north to the lands of Inchinnan and Renfrew. The White Cart, with its tributaries, the Lady Burn, the Espedair, St. Mirin's and Snawdon Burns, then ran clear and uncontaminated, while the Cart itself abounded in salmon, trout, and other fish, and was celebrated for its pearls.

Writing towards the end of the sixteenth century, Bishop Leslie describes Paisley as "situated among hills, green woods and schawis and forest fair." The hills, with two or three exceptions, still remain—Oakshaw Hill, Carriagehill, Camphill, Woodside, Castlehead—but "the woods and schawis and forest fair," are gone. About the time that Leslie wrote, we hear of Oakshaw Wood and Monkshaw Wood. At an earlier date we hear of Dunskaith Wood, and at a later, there is mention of timber in Aiket's Yard, now New Street, in the Sneddon, where was also a dovecote, in the Laighpark and in Ferguslie Park. Paisley, indeed, was one of the few places in the country in the sixteenth century where "green woods and schawis and forest fair" were to be seen. Two or three hills of some local note have now disappeared, the Smiddie Hills, from which the two Smithhills

take their name, and the Seedhill, from which Seedhill is named. With the exception of the Espedair, the burns falling into the White Cart at Paisley are now covered. The waters of neither the Cart nor the Espedair now run clear and uncontaminated.

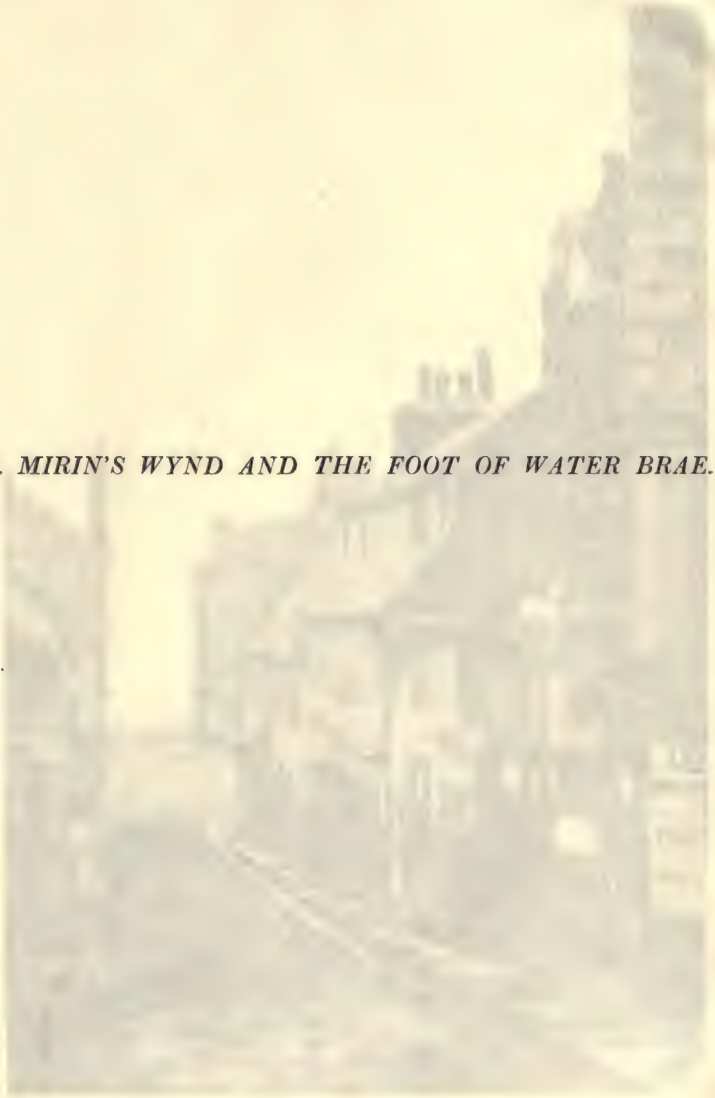
The oldest building in the burgh is the mill of Paisley, though probably but a very small part of the original structure remains. It was in existence before the founding of the abbey, and before the coming of the first Hereditary High Steward. The abbey church and the castle of Blackhall belong originally to about the same date, 1165-1172. The miller's house, next the mill, is not quite so old as either. The site for it was given to the monastery by Alan, son of the first High Steward, in the year 1203. The ancient village of Paisley in Seedhill, and its village green, the church of S. Mirin, the priest's house, the chaplain's house, and the abbot's dovecote, which stood at the foot of Mill Street, as well as the fuller's or walk-mill, which once stood in the Seedhill, and the Seedhill school, which formerly occupied part of the site of Seedhill Terrace, have now completely disappeared. Disappeared also have the gardens and deer park of the abbey, the beautiful wall with which they were enclosed, the pend, or "staitlie yethouse," built by abbot Tervas, which once formed the entrance to the abbey, most of the conventual buildings, most of the additions which Lord Dundonald made to the Place, and the hall adjoining the abbey church, where meetings and assemblies for various purposes used to be held. So also have the Cross from which Crossflat took its name, Fisherraw, and the "fine ashlar bridge" to which Leslie refers.

On the south side of the Brigend, next the Port, stood, in 1600, the tenement of John Steward, which had formerly belonged to Master John Steward. On the south side of this street was held the shoe market. In front of what is now the Savings Bank, was held the clothes' market. On the south side of the street, at the bridge, and at the north-east corner of St. Mirin's Wynd, stood, at one time, the chamberlain's house, built in 1471 by Sir John Mouss;

and next it, on the east side, S. Catherine's tile tenement. These buildings were succeeded more than once by others. The last of them were pulled down in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among them was the Artizans' Hall. From the Cross, St. Mirin's Wynd ran down hill in a south-east direction to near the mouth of St. Mirin's Burn. On the west side of the Wynd, as already noted, was the Lady House, or the house of the priest serving the altar of the Virgin in the abbey church. As already noted, too, John de Schelis had a charter of part of it from Abbot John de Lithgow, in 1432. In 1505, Abbot Robert Shaw purchased a tenement on which the chamberlain's house had stood on the opposite side of the Wynd from John Steward, and gave him and his wife a liferent of the Ladyhoill, or Lady Yard, Sir John Wan having in the meantime endowed the altar with a house and land situated where Nos. 14, 15, and 16 now stand in the High Street. In 1877, the whole of St. Mirin's Wynd was cleared away, St. Mirin's Street was opened, and direct access given to Causeyside Street from the Cross.

Lying west of the ancient Ladyhouse tenement, from the top of St. Mirin's Wynd, was the tenement known as the Vne (Oon) House. If the accepted meaning of *Vne* be correct, it probably indicates that there was here at one time an oven, or, it may be, a public bakehouse. Covering part of the north end of this tenement, and forming the south-east corner of the Cross, was what has been identified as Paisley Tak. Immediately west of this was the house owned by William Urie; and west of this, "besouth the Cross," was the house of Robert Montgomerie of Skelmorlie. At what was once No. 25 High Street was the house of Mr. Andro Knox, the fourth Protestant minister of Paisley. This, together with the house of the laird of Staneley, which stood next it, has recently been taken down to make way for the building in the High Street at the east corner of New Street. Going back to the Cross, at the north-east corner of it was the Hole i' the Wa', or Lily's Wynd. This was opened and widened into Gilmour Street in 1845; and, in 1906, the north side of


BUDGET



ST. MIRIN'S WYND AND THE FOOT OF WATER BRAE.

the Cross to Dyers' Wynd was taken down and made an open space, chiefly through the liberality of Mrs. John Polson. The old Cross Steeple was taken down in 1870. North of it, in Moss Street, with two shops beneath it, was the Saracen's Head Inn. At the south corner of School Wynd, now No. 6 Moss Street, was the Tailors' Land, which was rebuilt in the early part of the nineteenth century. On the south side of the School Wynd formerly stood the chapel of S. Nicolas, upon the site of which was built the original Grammar School. At No. 14 Moss Street stood the Mossraw Port.

Returning to the High Street—at No. 94 stood Lord Semple's house. At the east corner of Orr Square stood the ancient Almshouse, or Hospital, founded by the magistrates in 1618. At No. 82 was the West, or Wee Steeple. Nearly opposite to it, at No. 26 High Street, stood the meal market, which was taken down in 1799. Between No. 34 on the south side and No. 83 on the north side was the West Port. In Broomlands, on the south side, was the chapel of S. Roche, Rock, or Rollock, the stones of which were used for building the Almshouse.

From the foot of St. Mirin's Wynd, the road ran south by what is still known as Waterside. In a westerly direction, it ran along the Water Brae, which, though not a brae now, at one time was. Before the opening of the present St. Mirin's Street, the Water Brae gave access to Causeyside Street. Near the foot of what is now St. Mirin Street began the *Causa*, or Causeway, which continued south to Gordon's Loan, where was the *Causa end*, and the beginning of Causeyside. On the west side of this was, until recently, the Stow School, and nearly opposite to it an old meeting-house and tea gardens. Further south, on the west side of the street, was the Causeyside Street School. At the gushet formed by the junction of Calside and Neilston Road stood the Corsehouse, which was taken down in 1905. At what is now called the West-end Cross was another gushet house. This was called the Coffin-end, because of its resemblance to the shape of a coffin. It was removed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The mills and mill dam in Calside disappeared

many years ago, and, but for a couple of entries in the Pittance Roll, might have been altogether forgotten. When Causeyside Street was rebuilt, the steep gradient from the corner of Gordon's Loan to the Canal Station was reduced, by raising the level of the lower part and making the decline longer. A similar steep gradient from the Cross to the bridge was reduced by paring away the crown of the hill. When the old steeple was removed, it was found that its foundation was only eighteen inches below the existing surface.

The names given to the streets in the burgh may be divided into two classes: modern names and ancient names. The origin of most of the first present few difficulties. The same cannot be said of some of the older street-names.

To take the modern first. The following are derived from the names of sovereigns or princes—King Street, Queen Street, George Street, George Place, Albert Street (Albert, Prince Consort of Queen Victoria), Victoria Street, etc., Alexandra Place, Clarence Street (Duke of Clarence), and, perhaps, Williamsburgh (William IV.). The following are named after noblemen or noble families—Bute Place, Rosebery Place, Wellington Street, Argyll Street, Abercorn Street, Great Hamilton Street (Hamiltons, Dukes of Abercorn), Blythswood Drive (Lord Blythswood), Douglas Street, Kelburne Street, and Earl Grey Place (demolished to make way for the Royal Alexandra Infirmary).

The following streets, etc., bear the names of provosts or bailies—Andrews Street, Barclay Street, Brown Street and Place, Buchanan Streets (East and West), Campbell Street, Carlile Lane and Place, Clark Street, Cochran Street, Gilmour Street, Goudie Street, Hamilton Street, Henderson Street, Johnston Street, Kerr Street, Macfarlane Street, M'Gown Street, Mackenzie Street, MacKean Street, Marshall's Lane, Mathieson Street, Maxwell Street, Murray Street, Orr Street and Square, Phillips Street, Russell Street, Smith Street, Storie Street, Stevenson Street, Stow Street, Weir Street, Wilson Street.

Arthur Street is named after Mrs. Arthur of Barshaw; Gladstone Terrace, after Mr. W. E. Gladstone; Mavisbank Terrace, after the lands of Mavisbank, near Hawkhead; M'Kerrell Street, after the M'Kerrells of Hillhouse; Maxwellton, after the family of Maxwell, sometime proprietors of the lands upon which it is built; Underwood Street, after the lands under the wood, *i.e.*, under Oxschaw or the monks' wood. Thread Street, Gauze Street, Lawn Street, Cotton Street, Silk Street, and Incle Street are named after the different kinds of goods manufactured in Paisley at the time they were laid off by the Earl of Abercorn. Barr Street, between George Street and Canal Street, is named after Mr. Barr, sometime proprietor of the lands of Laighcommon, one of whose sons was the head of the engineering firm of Messrs. Barr & M'Nab, who constructed the first steam boiler made in Paisley, and brought some fame to the town by building the *Royal Victoria* and other river steamers, about the years 1840–5. The east end of Canal Street was formerly known as Longait, and acquired its present name after the building of the canal, the course of which is now followed for the most part by the Canal Railway. Love Street is named after Mr. Love, sometime proprietor of the Hope Temple Gardens, now the Fountain Gardens. "Wardrop" comes from the old French *garderobe*, a wardrobe, and may be, and probably is, an abbreviated form of *warderopere*, the Vestiarius, or Keeper of the Wardrobe. Wardrop Street, however, did not obtain its name from any keeper of the royal wardrobe, but from a Mr. Wardrop, whose name was at one time well known in Paisley, and one of whose ancestors may have been keeper of the wardrobe to some prince or nobleman.

Turning now to the older names. Some of these present considerable difficulty.

Arkleston Road is the road to or near or by Arkleston. *Arkleston*, again, is the town or farm or enclosed land of Arkle, Arkyll or Archyll; but who Arkle was, is not known. Arkleston is very old. It was in existence before the coming of the High Stewards. When Walter Fitz Alan endowed

the priory he had built by the White Cart, a carucate of the lands of Arkleston was in the hands of Grimketel, or, to translate his name, Black Kettle, a Saxon, or it may be, a Norseman. That Arkle was a Saxon, there can be little doubt; the use of the suffix *ton* may be taken as sure evidence of the fact.

The first part of *Hawkhead* Road again presents considerable difficulty. It may mean "the height which the hawks frequent," but "Hawkhead" used to be written Halkhead or Halkeheid. *Halk* or *halke* is apparently from the A.-S. *hylca*, hooks or turnings, and means a corner or recess, and in this sense is used by Chaucer. As for *head*, we have it in Town*head*, "the end of the town." This would point to a meaning something like "the end of the corner," or "the end of the recess" or "nook" or "place of retirement." But where was or is the corner or recess or place of retirement?

Barrhead Road takes its name obviously from Barrhead. Barrhead is the end of the hill, the hill, namely, which leads down from Neilston. Barr is the Gaelic *barr*, a hill.

Corsebar is the hill of the cross; *Thomasbar*, the hill of Thomas, probably S. Thomas; *Riccartsbar* is Richard's hill; and *Foxbar*, the hill of the foxes, or Fox hill.

Mavisbank Terrace takes its name from the lands of Mavisbank, near Hawkhead, but that the *bank* is named after the *mavis* is doubtful.

Todholm is the field of the fox, though a *holm* was originally an islet or a field with water on at least two of its sides. There was also a *Northholm*, as there is now a *Barterholm*, the significance of the first part of the latter of which names is somewhat doubtful.

Hunter's Hill is probably so named because the Steward's chief huntsman had his residence upon it.

Blackhall Street is named after the castle and lands of Blackhall, which apparently means the black hall or castle. So the monks believed, for they called the place *Nigra Aula*. But the interpretation may be doubted. The first part of "Blackhall" may stand for *black* or for *white*, according as it

is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *blac*, black, or the Norse *blakka*, white or bleached. There is nothing unreasonable in the suggestion that the place was called the White Court or Castle. Built of stone and lime it would, at the time of its erection, be a *White* Court as compared with the *black* houses of the opposite village, which were built for the most part of mud.

Chapel Hill and *Saucel* both derive their names from the chapel that once stood in Blackhall. *Saucel* is derived from the Latin *sacellum*, a chapel.

Lonend is the *end* of the *lane* or *loan*, from the Frisian *lone*, *lona*, a narrow way between gardens and houses, but whether it was the *end* of Gordon's *loan* or *lane*, or of a lane leading from Blackhall and its chapel is a question not easily settled.

Bladdayard is the yard of leaves or blades, from the A.-S. *blad*, a leaf or blade, as of grass. *Blad* appears in the word *blads* (of a book). Of the Gordon who gave his name to *Gordon's* Loan or Lane, nothing is known.

Causeyside is the *side* of the Causey or Causeway. A *causè* or *causeway* does not necessarily imply the hand of the Roman road-builder; all that the word indicates is that the place where the causey was laid down, was originally so soft and sloppy that it was necessary to raise and pave it in order to make the road over it practicable for traffic. The word *causey*, however, has a Roman origin. It comes directly from the Old French *caucie* from the Low Latin *calciata*, short for *calciata via*, a causeway. *Calciata* or *calciatus*, again, is the past participle of *calciare*, to make a roadway with lime, or rather, with mortar containing lime; and for the origin of *calciare* we have to go to the Latin *calx* (stem calc-) lime. *Causeway* is simply a corruption of the Middle English *causey* and the old Scots *causè*, *cawsè* or *cawsee*.

There was another *Causè* or *Causa* in Paisley, viz., at or near *Calside*. The temptation is to derive the first part of this name from the Middle English *cold*, *cald*, *kald*, or from the old Northumbrian *kald*, cold, and so to interpret the name as signifying *cold side*. The etymology seems obvious; but is wrong. Calside anciently figures as Calsasyide,

Calsasyde, Calsiesyde, which are simply different forms of Causeyside. Calsies or calsys were in Paisley, as elsewhere, causeways. To calsie, also, was to causey. And if we remember that in Calside there were at one time mills and a mill dam, and that the burn which flows along the north side of Craw Road used, not so many years ago, to overflow and flood Smith Street and Great Hamilton Street with a sheet of water known as the "Red Sea," we can understand that there was as much need for a causeway at the south end of Calside as there was for one between the foot of St. Mirin's Street and Gordon's Loan, and that Calside was in reality a causeyside.

Still another *Calsieside* was at the foot of Moss Street.

The Espedair gives its name to *Espedair* Street, and probably means the stream from the oakwood, from Celtic *es* or *esk*, water, and *dair*, an oak Crossing over *Charleston*, or Charles' Town, we have the *Craw* Road, *i.e.*, the Craig Road, so named from the craig, once much more noticeable than it is now, at its western end. The word *craig* (Welsh) assumes many forms. It forms part of the word *Crick*dale, the name of a place in Wilts, and between Arles and Marseilles is a barren, boulder-strewn region, known as *La Crau*. Crawford, in Lanarkshire, is the rocky or craig ford.

Meikleriggs is the great ridges. At one time, almost the whole of the agriculture of the country was carried on upon the sides of the hills and on the ridges, the more level parts being too sloppy and too liable to be flooded to allow of tillage being carried on upon them, at least with success.

Falside is the side of the fold or enclosure, from A.-S. *falod*, a stall or place constructed of *felled* trees, for the protection of sheep or cattle.

Glenfield is the field of or near the glen.

Greenhill and *Greenlaw* have the same meaning—the green hill, *law* being derived from the A.-S. *hlaw*, a mound or rising ground.

Thornley is the thorn lea or meadow, the meadow where the thorns or thorn trees stand.

Rowan Street is named after the rowan tree.

Ferguslie is the meadow or lea of Fergus; and *Craigielea*, the lea or meadow of the craig.

Garthland, the name of a street, lane, and terrace, is the *garth*, *i.e.*, the enclosed land, from the Icelandic *garth*, which corresponds to the English *yard*. The land referred to was the abbey land.

Orchard Street was so named because it runs through what was formerly the abbey orchard.

Priorscroft was once the croft of the prior of the monastery.

Kilnside is the land beside the *kiln*, *i.e.*, the kiln in which the monks prepared their malt.

Kilncroft Lane was, for it no longer exists, the lane by or to the croft in which the kiln stood.

Carriagehill may refer to some right which the monks had to service of carriage up the hill from their tenants.

Lylesland probably takes its name from the Lyles of Duchal, in Kilmacolm.

From the name *Dovesland*, the existence of a dovecote in the district may probably be inferred.

Camphill, though usually supposed to mean the hill on which the camp was placed, really means the hill in the town's, or burgh's, field. *Campus*, from which the first part of the name is derived, besides meaning a "camp" and a "battle," may also mean a "field." The field here, as in other similar places, was the field or unenclosed land belonging to the burgh, and the name simply means the hill in the common or burghal land.

Quarreland is the land of the quarry or quarries.

Gallow-green and *Gallow-hill* denote places of execution.

Castlehead is probably so named because of the outpost which the Romans are said to have had upon it.

Broomlands takes its name from the broom which at one time flourished on its fields.

Wellmeadow is the field with the spring or well. Its waters were probably supposed to have certain virtues, just as those of the Balgonie Well at the abbey were.

Sandholes indicates the presence of sand, and probably its utilization.

Well Street, like *Wellmeadow*, fixes the locality of a spring or well, as also does *Springbank*.

Oakshaw was anciently and invariably written Oxschaw. A *schaw* or *shaw* is a shady place or wood; and if *ox* here retains its ordinary significance, *Oxschaw* means the wood of the ox or oxen. Whether there is in the name any reminiscence of the wild oxen which in ancient times were plentiful in the country, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty.

The derivation of *Sneddon* from the A.-S. *sniden*, "a portion cut off," is impossible. *Sneddon* is a corruption of Snaudon, Snawdon, Snawdoun—the name by which the lands were formerly known. *Snawdon* is the same as Snowdon, the name of a mountain in Wales, and is explained by Mr. Isaac Taylor as signifying the snow hill. Other etymologists, whose names carry quite as much authority as Mr. Taylor's, are more reticent. Snawdon or Snowdon is the name of one of the Scottish heralds. According to William of Worcester, the castle of Stirling was known as Snowdon West Castle. There is a Snowdon also in Berwickshire, and another in Haddingtonshire; and an Eister and Westir Snaw*toun* in Kincardineshire. But, even if Mr. Taylor's etymological explanation of the name of the hill in Wales can be justified, and that is extremely doubtful, it certainly cannot be accepted as an explanation of Snawdon in Paisley. The lands of Snawdon or Sneddon are not a hill; they are as flat as the top of a dining-table. According to Skeat, the root of snow is *snigh*, the original meaning of which was probably to wet, to moisten, with which may be compared the Sanscrit *sneha*, oil, moisture; *snik*, with its past participle *snigdha*, oily, wet, dense, cooling; and the Gael. *snidh*, to ooze through in drops. *Don* or *doun* may come from the Low Lat. *domnionem*, the acc. of *domnio*, a lordship, territory, estate, like *dom* in domain, *don* in donjon, and *dun* in dungeon. If this be correct, *Snowdon* would signify the wet, dripping, sloppy, or oozing land or estate—a description in every way suitable to the low-lying lands of Sneddon or Snawdon, with the moss of Paisley on one side and the White Cart, with its frequent floods, on the other.



OLD SNEDDON.

Well Street, the Wellhouse, from the locality of a spring or well, as also does Springbank.

Bakehouse was anciently and invariably written Oxecleuch. A *scheu* or *shaw* is a shady place in a wood, and if we here retain its ordinary significance, *Oxenshaw* means the wood of the ox or oxen. Whether there is in the name any reminiscence of the wild oxen which in ancient times were plentiful in the country, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty.

The derivation of Shaddon from the A.-S. *sceadu*, "a portion cut off," is impossible. Shaddon is a corruption of Snowdon, Snowdoun, Snowdoune—the name by which the lands were for merly known. Auchtibo is the same as Snowdon, the name of a mountain in Wales, and is explained by Mr Isaac Taylor as signifying the snow hill. Other etymologists whose names carry weight in such matters, explain Snowdon's, as many others, as meaning Snowdon is the name of one of the Scottish hills. According to William of Worcester, the castle of Aberlady was known as Snowdon West Castle. There is a Snowdon also in Berwickshire, and another in Haddingtonshire; and in Perth and Wigtownshire we find Knockenshabbie. But, even if Mr Taylor's etymological explanation of the name of the hill in Wales can be upheld, and that is extremely doubtful, it cannot be accepted as an explanation of Snowdon in Paisley. The lands of Snowdon or Snoddon are not a hill; they are at the top of a diving-table. According to Skeat, the root of snow is *snigh*, the original meaning of which was probably to wet, to moisten, with which may be compared the Sanscrit *snehe*, oil, moisture; *snih*, with its past participle *snigdha*, oily, wet; drops, reading; and the Gael. *sneh*, to ooze through in drops. *Dun* or *down* may come from the Celtic *dun*, *dunum*, the root of *dunsky*, a lordship, territory, estate, the *dun* in *dunsinane*, the *don* in *Jonesby*, *yon*, and *dun*, in dungeon. If this be correct, Snowdon would signify the wet, dripping, dripping, or moisty land or territory, a description in every way suitable to the [illegible] of Snoddon or Snowdon, with the name of Paisley [illegible] and the White Cart, with its frequent floods [illegible]



Two streets have been named after saints—SS. James the Apostle and Mirin—two of the saints to whom the abbey was dedicated. In the naming of the streets of the burgh, S. Milburga, the third saint to whom the abbey was dedicated, has been entirely overlooked.

Ladyburn Street takes its name from the Lady Burn, which owes its name to a chapel of Our Lady, which once stood near it.

Wallneuk is the neuk or corner of the wall, the wall, namely, with which Abbot George Shaw surrounded the park and gardens of the abbey.

Mill Street is named, not after the thread mill in Seedhill, but after the old mill of Paisley.

Gateside is the land by the side of the *gate*, *gata* being the Icelandic equivalent for the A.-S. *stræt* and the Latin *strata* (put for *strata via*), a paved way or street.

Sandyford is the sandy ford.

The *Knock* is the *cnoc* (Gaelic), a mound or rising ground.

Turning back and crossing the White Cart or river (?), we have *Merksworth*. A *worth* (A.-S.) is an enclosure or a piece of enclosed land; *merk* is a boundary: hence *Merksworth* is the enclosed land at the boundary; but as forests often formed the boundaries of enclosed lands, *merk* also meant a forest, and Merksworth may mean the enclosed land in the forest. Another derivation suggested makes the meaning an enclosed piece of land of the value of a merk.

Barshaw is the hill with the *shaw* or wood, or the Wooded Hill.

Whitehaugh is the white mound, or rising ground, from *haugr* (Norse), a mound.

Carbrook, in Carbrook Street, means the stony burn; from *carr* (Gaelic), anything uneven and hence applicable to a stone which makes the surface uneven, and *broc* (A.-S.), a rushing stream; and the street evidently takes its name from the burn that still runs near it, but is now covered.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

INDUSTRIES.

The remark has already been made that the principal industry carried on in the town in ancient times was that of weaving. Other trades also were carried on; but that which, when estimated according to the number of persons employed in it, deserves to be regarded as the most important, was the weaving of linen and woollen goods. This was the case, as we have seen, in 1695. In the Poll Tax Roll of that year, while forty-one of the inhabitants are set down as merchants and shopkeepers, thirty-two as cordiners, or boot and shoe makers, twenty-nine as tailors, and twenty-one as maltsters. no fewer than sixty-six are set down as weavers. The monks had a fulling mill on the Espedair, and there was another in Seedhill; but, singularly enough, not one fuller is mentioned in the Poll Tax Roll, and two listers seem to have been sufficient to do all the dyeing that was required. Of all the craftsmen enumerated, the tailors, while comparatively numerous, appear to have been the most wealthy and important. They were the first to form themselves into a society, and had a valuable property, as we have seen, at the south corner of Moss Street and Church Wynd, known as the Tailors' Land. In addition to the sixty-six weavers residing in the burgh, there were thirty-two others in the landward part of the parish. They wove both linen and woollen goods, and one of the markets in the burgh was set apart for the sale of linen.

Paisley, as already remarked, was one of the first places in the country that profited commercially by the union of Scotland and England. The packmen, by whom most of the outside trade was done, began to cross the border, where they soon found a large demand for their goods, and obtained better prices. Most of them were men of intelligence,

and noting the kind of goods which were most wanted, and observing any improvements that came in their way, they returned with a wealth of information, which enabled them to suggest new styles and varieties, and so to infuse new life into the industry. By 1710, the trade of the town had, in consequence, largely increased. Writing in that year, Crawfurd, the historian of the county, remarks:—"That which renders this place [Paisley] considerable is its trade in linen and muslin, where there is a great weekly sale of these sorts of cloths; many of the inhabitants being chiefly employed in that sort of manufactory."[1] Bengals, striped linens with a mixture of cotton, made in imitation of the striped muslins manufactured in India, and coarser linen cloths, were also woven. About 1730, the weaving of checked handkerchiefs was introduced, and, later on, the manufacture of lighter goods of various kinds, such as plain, striped, spotted, and figured lawns and bordered handkerchiefs. After this, plain and figured thread gauze was added. "These light, fancy articles tended," it is said, "to excite the ingenuity and taste of the artists, so that goods of all various patterns were now made, and their success in invention and workmanship was considerable." The value of the business done in this branch of industry for the year ending November, 1744, was £15,886, and the year ending November, 1774, £164,385, or more than eleven times greater than in the year 1743-4.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, an impetus was given to the trade of the town by the introduction of silk gauze weaving. There were one or two silk weaving shops in the Abbey Close, in 1760. In that year, Mr. Kibble, Lord Dundonald's factor, was in correspondence with a Mr. Stone, of London, "anent a silk weaver to settle in Paisley."[2] But the success of the silk industry was due chiefly to the energy and enterprise of Mr. Humphrey Fulton, of Midtown of Threapwood, in the parish of Beith. Removing to Paisley in 1749, he began business as a manufacturer of linen and lawn goods; but, turning his attention soon after to the silk

[1] History, 40, Robertson's Edition. [2] MS. Accompt, 50.

trade, he succeeded so well that his goods came to be exposed in the markets of London, where their quality and prices obtained for them ready purchasers. Thereafter, a number of firms came down to Paisley from London, and, taking up the business with great energy, it so increased that several of the firms had branches in London and Dublin, and the products of the Paisley silk looms were on sale in Paris. The centre of the silk trade of the country was, in fact, shifted to the banks of the Cart, and, for a time at least, Spitalfields was in a measure superseded by Paisley.

Semple gives the number of looms at work in Paisley in 1766, as follows:—Linen, 855; silk, 702; thick work, 45; net work, 165—in all, 1,767. Seven years later, the numbers had risen to: Silk, 876; ribbon, 155; linen or lawn, 557; thick goods, 66—in all, 2,233; but of these, 579 were empty. In 1791-2, they had grown to 3,602. In the other parts of the county, there were 1,430.

The total value of the goods manufactured in Paisley, in 1784, was estimated at £579,185 16s. 6d.; while the production of the goods gave employment, it was calculated, to 26,484 individuals.

From some cause or other, the success of the silk weaving trade in Paisley was of short duration. It began to fall off in 1789, and in 1812 had entirely ceased.

Meantime, cotton spinning had been introduced into the county. Mills were erected at Busby, Pollokshaws, Johnstone, Linwood, and other places, but the chief centre of the industry in the county was Paisley. After cotton spinning, the manufacture of muslin was revived. The change which this wrought in the occupation of a great part of the people is said to have been followed by great changes in their circumstances, and eventually in their character.

The silk manufacture, it is said, "was engrossed by a few great capitalists, who could set at defiance all rivalry by poorer men. They were not under the necessity of competing with one another in order to force the sale of goods by underselling and running the prices down to the lowest rate. The weavers' hours of labour were moderate, yet they were so well

paid, that they could dress like gentlemen, and many of them bought houses with their savings. The raw material of the silk weaving was brought from foreign parts and sold for cash at the India House; but cotton yarn was spun at home in immense quantities, and could be had in sufficient abundance by any man who could command five pounds of money or had credit to that amount. Thus hundreds became manufacturers of muslin, who had never produced a web of silk. Their market became overstocked with goods. Those who had got their yarn on credit were obliged to sell at an undervalue, or at whatever they got, in order to pay their bills. Then the prices of weaving were reduced to the lowest possible rate. Men were required to work longer hours to make a living, which increased the evil of bringing forward an extra quantity of goods."[1]

The bleaching of lawns and linens and other goods was carried on chiefly along the banks of the Espedair and Candren burns, the waters of which were supposed to possess a peculiar virtue for the purpose.

Meanwhile, another industry had found its way into the town. Its introduction into the West of Scotland may be said to have been due to Christian Shaw, of witchcraft notoriety. After her youthful hysteria and vagaries, which it is to be hoped she remembered with penitential sorrow, she grew up into a sensible, or, at any rate, a skilful and industrious woman. In 1718, she married Mr. John Miller, minister of Kilmaurs. Three years later she was left a widow, and, after residing at Bargarren for some time, she removed to Johnstone. Here she took up the business of spinning linen yarn and converting it into thread. After many experiments, she found out the art of bleaching her thread to perfection. Samples of her industry were shown to Lady Blantyre, who took a parcel with her to Bath, then a chief fashionable resort in England. At Bath, her thread was greatly admired and readily bought by some lace manufacturers. By means of a friend, Mrs. Miller next procured

[1] Quoted by Brown, History of Paisley, ii. 59.

from Holland, then apparently the chief centre of the thread industry, a small thread-mill. Her friend also supplied her with information as to how the industry was carried on at Campvere and other Dutch towns, which enabled her, with the assistance of her mother and younger sister, to build up a successful and profitable business. In a short time, however, competitors sprang up, and the following advertisement was inserted in an Edinburgh newspaper :—



"The Lady Bargarren and her daughters having attained to a great perfection in making, whitening, and twisting of Sewing Thread, which is cheap and white, and known by experience to be much stronger than the Dutch; to prevent people's being imposed upon by other thread, which may be sold under the name 'Bargarren Thread,' the papers in which the Lady Bargarren, and her daughters, at Bargarren, or Mrs. Miller, her eldest daughter (Christian, now a widow), at Johnstone, do put their thread, shall for direction, have thereupon their coat of arms *azure*, three covered cups *or*. Those who want the said thread, which is to be sold from five pence to six shillings per ounce, may write to the Lady Bargarren, or Mrs. Miller at Johnstone, near Paisley, to the care of the Postmaster at Glasgow; and may call for the samen, in Edinburgh, at John Seton, merchant, his shop in the Parliament close, where they will be served either in wholesale or retail; and will be served in the same manner at Glasgow, by William Selkirk, merchant, in Trongate."

A Mr. Pollock is credited with the introduction of the industry into Paisley; but the precise date of its introduction is not known. A machine was invented for turning twenty-four bobbins, instead of twelve, and, in 1744, there are said to have been in operation in the town, ninety-three mills or machines. The rent of a thread-mill in those days may be gathered from the following entry in Lord Dundonald's rental roll for 1760:—"4 thread-mills, James Lang and William

Nisbet at £3 yearly for each, £12."[1] About the same time, a new mill was built somewhere upon Lord Dundonald's property, and the following entry illustrates a custom which long survived, and is probably not dead yet :—"By incidents with the wrights and tacksmen of the Threadmylns when tryal was made of their going, 1s. 0d."[2] The cost of a "threadmyln" at this time appears to have been about £5.[3]

During the next quarter of a century, the industry made rapid strides. In 1784, the following kinds of thread were made in the town :—Nun's, or ounce; Lisle, or dozen thread; Lish thread, used for heddles; flourishing, or embroidery cotton; Indian cotton, for flowering; and ware thread. The number of machines in use for twisting thread was then about 120. On an average, each machine twined about 2,400 spindles, making the total number about 288,000. The estimated value of a spindle was 4s. 6d., and that of the yearly production of thread, £64,800.[4] Five years later (1789), 4,800 persons are said to have been employed in the industry, while its yearly value is given at £70,000.

Other industries carried on in Paisley at this time were the manufacture of soap, candles, and incle ribbon; tanning, etc., of all which the estimated yearly value was £60,000. At the end of the eighteenth century, the entire trade of the town was valued at £660,386 1s. 4d.[5]

This prosperity of the industries of the town, however, was suddenly checked. The harvests of 1799 and 1800 were bad, food, though every effort was made to import grain from abroad, was scarce, and many people were reduced to destitution. Besides, the wars on the Continent began to tell upon trade, and many were thrown out of employment. There were short periods of revival, but for many years the trade of the town was in a fluctuating and precarious condition. From 1817 to 1822, it was bad. The years 1823 and 1824 were years of prosperity; but the three following years were calamitous, as

[1] MS. Accompt, p. 8. [2] MS. Accompt, p. 47. [3] MS. Accompt, p. 39.
[4] Scots Magazine, xlix. 294 (June, 1787). [5] Statistical Account, iii. 73.

they were in other parts of the country. In July, 1827, no fewer than 15,000 persons in Paisley and its neighbourhood received aid from funds which had been subscribed in almost every part of the kingdom. The money spent in their relief is said to have been upwards of £13,000, £3,700 of which was received from the London Manufacturing Company. In the years 1829 and 1831, the weaving trade was especially depressed, and still more in 1837, when 850 weavers, 60 dyers, and many draw-boys, pirn-winders, and others were out of employment, and a sum of £12,081 was raised, chiefly by subscription, and spent in relieving them. But worst of all was the condition of the industry in the years 1841-43. The sufferings of the operatives then are described as dreadful. In July, 1841, the number receiving relief was 2,180; on February 11, 1842, it had risen to the enormous figure of 14,791. By October 4, 1842, it had fallen to 5,989; but on December 27 in the same year, it had risen to 11,885. So great was the depression of trade at this time, that out of 112 manufacturing firms, solvent and doing business in July, 1841, 67 failed, and 20 out of 40 persons designated merchants in the Directory, became insolvent. The liabilities of the firms that went down were upwards of £750,000.[1] It was at this time that the late Queen Victoria purchased a selection of shawls from the manufacturers in the town, in order to show her sympathy with the suffering people, and to encourage the trade which had then for some years been established in the town. The sympathy of the whole country was aroused, and no less than £47,187 18s. 10d. was subscribed for the relief of the town.[2] Another period of depression occurred in 1847. Seven thousand people were thrown out of employment, and had to depend for food and life on the generosity of their friends.

The shawl trade was introduced into Paisley in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Singularly enough, the introduction of this industry into the country was one of the

[1] Brown, History of Paisley, ii. 220. [2] Brown, History of Paisley, ii. 223.

results of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. The officers of both the contending European armies there sent, as presents to their friends at home, specimens of the Turkish and Indian shawls then in use in Egypt, and in Edinburgh and Paisley attempts were made to imitate them. John Kennedy, a former teacher in the town, used to assert that his father was the first to engage in this business in Paisley, and that the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood used to send him shawls which they had received from the East, to copy. In Edinburgh, the trade fell almost entirely into the hands of members of the Society of Friends, but most of the operatives they employed were from Paisley.

The first shawls imitated were from Egypt and the Levant. The prevailing figure upon them was "a perverse-looking, wry-necked sprig, in one colour, generally green, or made up of little bars of various colours, like so many chips of painted wood built into the required shapeless form. These sprigs, at regular distances, filled the centre of the shawl, which was sometimes bordered and sometimes not."[1]

Another kind of shawl imitated at this period was the "damask shawl," so named, probably, from its being made in the ancient city of Damascus. As first made in Paisley, it was somewhat expensive. The material was for the most part rich tram silk, for which cotton was subsequently substituted.

The "red silk shawl" was also made at this period. Though called "the red silk," the ground of this class of shawl was often yellow or white. It was always made of solid silk, and was almost invariably figured with black.

The above mentioned shawls were made between 1800 and 1820. Trade was briskest in them at the close of the great war, in 1815. After Waterloo, the trade declined, and when a revival came, another class of goods took the market. These were imitations of shawls brought from Delhi. They

[1] Paisley Shawls, a lecture by W. Cross, p. 9. What follows is for the most part taken from Mr. Cross's lecture.

were known as Delhi shawls. Made of silk or Cashmere wool, they were figured with floss silk, and in some cases with gold and silver thread. The figures were of different sizes, and of every variety of bright colours. It was in these Delhi shawls that the pine figure was first introduced. But "what is called pine in Indian patterns is not an imitation of the rich fruit known by that name, nor of the kind of fir so called; nor is it a purely ideal figure, for it bears a close resemblance to a kind of gourd or pitcher plant indigenous to some parts of India. Its general form is that of an elegantly proportioned vase, tapering off at the neck into a gracefully carved beak or proboscis."[1] This figure became a leading feature of shawl patterns, and reigned so paramount over all other forms, that though several attempts were made to supersede it, none succeeded. It went through various modifications, but it always held its own.

What were known as angolas and chenille shawls were also made. About 1827, various styles and modifications of the harness shawl were introduced, so also were the zebra and and Canton crepe shawls. In 1838, the harness figured, or "Paisley shawl," was for a time superseded by a class of shawls on which conventional representations of flowers, chiefly the rose and corn poppy, were embroidered. This was the last attempt to set aside the Indian styles in shawl patterns.

The Paisley, or harness shawl, continued to be made till after the middle of the last century. Since then, it has gone entirely out of fashion, and has ceased to be made, at least in Paisley. Other shawls, however, continued to be made, such as woollen shawls, travelling plaids, and bandana or shoulder shawls.

After the failure of the shawl trade, the weaving of tapestry was introduced; and a considerable trade was done with South America, in ponchos. By the year 1882, the number of weavers in Paisley had fallen to about 953. At the time

[1] Cross, p. 12.

of writing, the number is still smaller, and is probably less than 50.[1]

The origin of the cotton sewing thread industry—the greatest of Paisley's industries—is somewhat obscure. According to one account, the invention of cotton sewing thread was suggested to Mr. Patrick Clark while in quest of a substitute for silk with which to form the eye, or loop, of the heddle, so as to allow the yarn while in the process of weaving to pass through it with perfect freedom and as little friction as possible. According to another, the invention was suggested to Mr. James Coats by the peculiar twist

[1] The following, for which I am indebted to Mr. Alexander Smith, is of interest as showing (I.) the yearly earnings of John Smith, a warper in Paisley, from 1786 to 1792, and (II.) the yearly earnings of his son, James Smith, a weaver in Paisley, from 1806 to 1838. The figures are taken from the note-books of the individuals mentioned.

I.—John Smith, received for warping:

1786,		£29	3	5	1789, ...	£24	16	9
1787,		25	12	11	1790, ...	29	19	6
1788,		23	0	1	1791, ...	27	10	0
1792 (from July to November), ...		£9	9	0				

II.—Earnings of James Smith (son of John Smith), for weaving:

1806,		£37	14	7	1823,		£50	16	1
1807,		41	17	6	1824,		45	18	5
1808,		31	6	2	1825,		44	15	2
1809,		44	6	10	1826,		11	7	2
1810,		70	8	8	1827,		37	17	6
1811,		54	6	0½	1828,		33	11	3
1812.		40	7	5	1829,		31	15	0
1813,		50	11	0	1830,		40	7	4
1814,		59	15	0	1831,		31	16	4
1815,		56	13	4	1832,		31	10	6
1816,		40	1	7½	1833,		29	7	6
1817,		41	4	8	1834,		29	14	3
1818,		58	1	10	1835,		37	17	0
1819,		47	3	3½	1836,		40	6	6
1820,		40	19	0	1837,		30	1	6
1821,		49	8	6	1838,		33	5	2
1822,		56	18	1½					

which required to be given to the silk used in the manufacture of Canton crepe shawls, an industry in which he had for some time been engaged, but which, owing to cheap imitations, was becoming unprofitable. According to a third account, cotton sewing thread was first made in Paisley by the Maxwells, in West Street. But, by whomsoever this particular kind of thread was invented, the manufacture of it was set on foot in Paisley during the early part of the nineteenth century. A mill was built by the Messrs. J. & J. Clark, in Seedhills, and another by Mr. J. Coats, in 1826, in Ferguslie. Shortly after this some forty-five firms are enumerated as engaged in the thread industry, but whether they were all engaged in producing cotton sewing thread is another question, and one not easily answered at this distance of time. With two exceptions, the whole of these firms gradually fell out of existence, and in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century the whole of the cotton sewing thread trade in Paisley was in the hands of Messrs. J. & P. Coats and Messrs. Clark & Co. Since then, owing partly to the enterprise of these firms and partly to the increased use of the sewing machine, the industry has advanced in Paisley by leaps and bounds. The common interests of the two firms gradually drew them into closer relations with each other, and in 1889 they formed the distributing centre known as The Sewing Cotton Agency, which, on the firms being joined by Messrs. Jonas Brook & Brothers of Meltham, became The Central Agency. In 1890, the firm of Messrs. J. & P. Coats was formed into a limited liability company, with a capital of £5,750,000. According to the prospectus then issued, the average profits for the previous seven years had been £426,048 13s. 9d. On July 1, 1896, the firms of Messrs. Clark & Co., Paisley, Messrs. Jonas Brook & Brothers of Meltham, and Messrs. James Chadwick & Brother of Bolton, though each firm maintained its own separate existence, were amalgamated with that of Messrs. J. & P. Coats of Paisley, and became the firm of Messrs. Coats, Limited, Paisley, with a capital of £11,000,000, distributed among about 17,000 shareholders. The nett profits of the

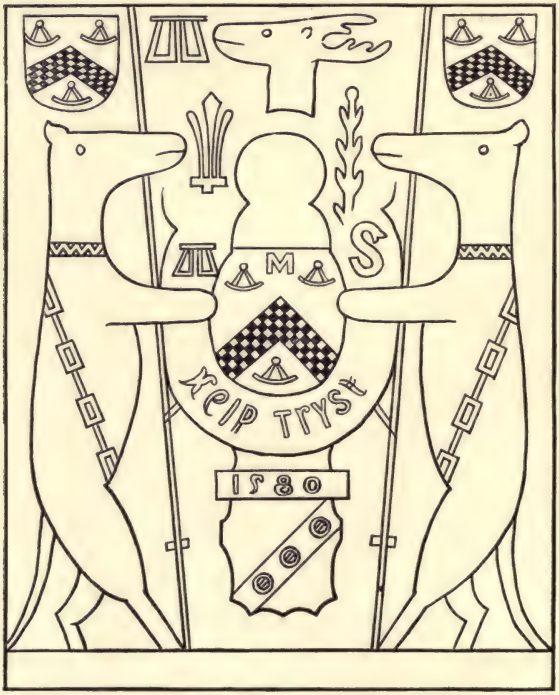
firm for the year ending November 24, 1906, were close on £3,000,000, while the market value of the whole undertaking was the enormous sum of £48,128,987. Ordinary shareholders were paid a dividend of 20 per cent., and a bonus of 5 per cent. The Messrs. Coats have large undertakings on the continent of Europe and in the United States of America. Their works in Paisley cover about a hundred acres of ground, and give employment to about 10,000 individuals, whose power of production, owing to improved machinery, is from three to four times greater than it was forty years ago.

When the census was taken in 1901, the number of persons, male and female, from ten years of age and upwards, who were engaged in commerce and in the principal industrial arts carried on within the burgh, were as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Commercial occupations,...	1,326	252
Conveyance of men, goods, and messages,	2,424	173
Agriculture, ...	360	80
Mines and quarries, ...	413	3
Metals, machines, implements, and conveyances, ...	4,960	21
Building and works of construction, ...	3,027	5
Wood, furniture, fittings, and decorations,	1,058	25
Brick, cement, pottery, and glass, ...	294	32
Chemicals, oil, soap, etc., ...	468	190
Paper, prints, books, and stationery, ...	306	285
Textile fabrics, ...	2,947	8,279
Dress, ...	659	954
Food, tobacco, drink, lodging, ...	1,736	733
Skins, leather, hair, and feather, ...	112	39
Domestic offices or service, ...	264	1,868
Other general and undefined workers and dealers, ...	1,860	234

In the professions, there were 596 males and 454 females. These included ministers, advocates, solicitors, law clerks, doctors, teachers, engineers, architects, reporters, journalists,

photographers, painters, engravers, actors, showmen. Thirty-five men were engaged in the defence of the country. Of teachers, 113 were males and 247 females. Of females engaged in laundry and washing service, there were 655; and 246 are set down as commercial or business clerks. The construction of ships and boats gave employment to 762 men. Nine men were employed in the manufacture of bicycles and motor cars. The manufacture of nails was monopolised by one man. The total population was 37,271 males and 42,092 females; in all, 79,363.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

POLL TAX ROLL.

The Poll Tax Roll for the burgh has already been summarised.[1] In the following pages it is printed in full, together with the Roll for the landward part of the Abbey Parish of Paisley.

PAISLEY PAROCHINE.

List of the Towne.

John Forman, weiver.			
Alex. Forman, weiver, no stock, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jennet Love, spouse, 6 sh., ...	£0	18	0
William Speir, maltman, 12 sh. trade and pole; Christian Rowand, spouse, 6 sh.; Issobal Thomsoune, servt., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d., ...	1	11	6
John Walker, weiver, ...	0	12	0
Thomas Wallace, cordoner, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Stevensoune, his spouse, and Jennet Wallace, his daughter, 6 sh. each; Mary Plewright, servt., 6 lib. fie, 9 sh., ...	3	17	0
James Gemmell, prentice to Robt. Alexr., masone, 6 sh.; Jennet Maxwell, his wife, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Robert Alexr., masone, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margt. Biggert, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
William Alexander, workman.			
William Cochran, weiver.			
Charles Munro, weiver, 12 sh.; Mareon Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
William Willsoune, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Isoball Willsoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Agnes Barbour, weidow, ...	0	6	0

[1] See pages 359 and 360.

John Fyfe, merchd., worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Cochrane, his mother, 6 sh.; Bessie Jamiesoune, servd., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	£3	14	0
Jean Knox, wedow.			
Robert Norie, wright, 12 sh. trade and pole; Agnes Thomsoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
William Snodgrass, workman, 6 sh. pole; and Jennet Wodrow, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Ursilla Henshell, wedow.			
George Watterstoune, glassier, worth 500 and not 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Anna Baird, spouse, 6 sh.; James, David, William, Anna, and Jennet, children, each 6 sh., ...	4	12	0
Robert Finlaysoune, meilman, no stock, 6 sh.; Margt. Kibble, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
James Robiesoune, couper, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Bessie Mathie, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Matthew Robiesoune, smith, no stock, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Margt. Craig, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.,	1	6	0
John Alexander, maltman.			
James Willsoune, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Girzall Barbour, spouse, 6 sh.; James and Agnas, his sone and daur., each 6 sh., ...	1	10	0
Mareon Finlaysone.			
Jean Campbell.			
Bessie Pattersoune.			
Alexr. Park, maltman, worth 500 and not 5000, 2 lib. 10 sh. and 6 sh. general pole; Mareon Miller, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	3	2	0
David Wylie, smith, worth 500 and not 5000 mks., 2 lib. 10 sh.; Jennet Corse, his spouse, 6 sh.; David Wylie, his sone, 6 sh., ...	3	8	0
David Landesse, cordoner.			
Jennet Taylior, wedow.			
Alex. Greenlees, cordoner.			
William Shedden, taylior.			
James Reid, weiver, and his sone James, for himself 12 sh. and his sone 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
James Campbell, house mert., worth 500 and not 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Agnes Lang, his spouse,			

6 sh.; Agnes Campbell, child, 6 sh.; Jean Jamieson, servt., 13 lib. fie, 6 sh. 6d., ... £4 0 6

Elizabeth Aitken, widow.

James Davidsoune, weiver.

John Pattesoune, wright, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 10 sh., and 6 sh. general pole; Mareon Love, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet, his daughter, 6 sh.; Marie Davidsoun, servt., 11 lib. fie, 5 sh. 6d., ... 3 19 6

Hugh Dunsmuir.

John Cochrane, workman.

Robert Pattiesoune, maltman, 12 sh. trade and pole; Mareon Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

John Willsoune,[1] mert., worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh., and 6 sh. general pole; Isobell Holmes, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Elizabeth, his children, each 6 sh., ... 3 14 0

James Alex^r., officer, 6 sh.; Mary Barr, his spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 12 0

John Semple, mert., in Tounehead, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Allasoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet and Jean Semples, children, each, 6 sh., ... 3 8 0

Robert Semple, mert.

Geills Scott, widow.

Robert Campbell, house mert.

Robert Brock, weiver.

Robert Muir, cadger.

Margaret (blank), widow.

James Stewart, smith, no stock, 12 sh., ... 0 12 0

Mareon Caldwell, widow.

William Hendersoune, couper, no stock, 12 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Elspa Fyfe, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Jennet Hendersoune, children, each 6 sh., ... 1 10 0

David Hamiltoune, workman.

Margaret Stevenson, widow.

Thomas Mathie, weiver, worth 500 and not 5000 mks., 2 lib. 10 sh., and 6 sh. general pole, ... 2 16 0

[1] He was great-grandfather of Professor Wilson, "Christopher North" of Blackwood's Magazine.

George Mathie, taylior, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 10 sh.; Isobell Patiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Helen Davidsoun, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., ...	£3	15	0
Robert Kirlie, officer.			
Andrew Campbell.			
Jannet Greenlees.			
John Browne.			
Elizabeth Thomsoune.			
James Stewart, smith, no stock, 12 sh. trade and pole,	0	12	0
William Whyte, meilman, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Christiane Browne, spouse, 6 sh.; James, John, and Margaret, his children, each, 6 sh.; John Arbukle, servant, 20 lib. fie, 16 sh.; John Adam, servt., 15 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 7 sh. 8d.; Christian Smith, servt., 12 lib. 6s. 8d., 6 sh. 2d.; Agnes Hall, servant, 13 lib. fie, 6 sh. 2d., ...	6	5	0
John Pirrhie, maltman, worth 500 merks 3 lib. 6 sh.; Margt. Jamiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John, Jean, Alexander, and Isoball, children, each 6 sh.; William Lindsay, servt., 40 merks fie, 12 sh. 4d.; Mary Clerk, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; and Jean Cordonar, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh., ...	7	2	4
John Parkhill, weiver, no stock, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jean Johnstoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Margaret Young, widow.			
Robert Crawfoord, cordoner.			
Thomas Weir, workman.			
Claud Fleming, weiver, no stock, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Jennet Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John Aitken, journeyman, 12 sh., ...	1	10	0
James Adam.			
Mareon Alexander.			
Robert Adam, mercht., 500 and not 5000 mks. 1 lib. 10 sh.; John and Jennet Adams, his children, each 6 sh., ...	3	8	0
Helen Forfar, widow, ...	0	6	0
John Lochhead, cordoner.			
Margaret Duncan.			
George Greenlees, cordoner.			

Gavin Cochrane, heritor of Craigmuire, Cochran, and Faskine, in Clidsdeal and Renfrew, 380 lib. val., 9 lib. 6 sh.; Margaret Cleiland, his spouse, 6 sh.; John Greenlees, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Jennet Wilsoune, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; and Jennet Wemget, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh., ...	£11	14	0
Alex. Cochrane, yor. of Craigmuire, 100 mks. val., 4 lib. 6 sh.; Gavin and Agnes, his children, each 6 sh.; Robert Wallace, sert., 20 lib. fie, 16 sh.; Margt. Robieson, his spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Cochrane, sert., 12 lib. fee, 12 sh., ...	6	12	0
Robert Brysone, cordoner, no stock, 12 sh. trade and pole; Christian Wallace, spouse, 6 sh.,... ...	0	18	0
John Kerr, journeyman.			
John Orr, gardener, 12 sh. trade and pole; Mareon Pattisoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean Pattisoune, servt., 6 lib. fee, 3 sh., ...	1	0	7
Duncan Allan, cordoner.			
James Dunlop, cordoner, worth 500 and not 5000 mks. 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margt. Wilsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John, James, Margaret and Jennet, his children, each 6 sh.; Elspe Fleeming, servt., 8 lib. fie, 4 sh., ...	4	14	0
Margt. Ure, wedow.			
William Hendersoune, wrytter.			
John Stewart, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margt. Brysone, spouse, 6 sh.; George Dunloap, prentice, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
John Glen, cordoner, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Agnas Stevensoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Richard, John and Alexander, his sones, each 6 shillings; David Tweddale, prentice, 6 sh., ...	4	6	0
Isobell Boll, widow.			
John Parkhill, maltman, worth 300 merks, 6 sh. trade and 6 sh. pole, ...	0	12	0
William Tarbert, wrytter and notar publick, ...	4	6	0
Allan Walkinshaw, gentleman, ...	3	6	0
Margaret Lumsdaill and her daughter.			
Gabriel Wilsoune, barbour, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Elspe Wilsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Archi-			

bald, Gabrill, and Elizabeth, children, each 6 sh.; Agnes Gibb, servt., 8 mks. fie, 2 sh. 8d. and 6 sh. pole, ...	£4	8	8
William Stewart, taylior.			
William Park, weig maker.			
Robert Greenlees, merchant, worth 500 and within 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Anna Patersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert, his sone, 6 sh.; Jean Gardner, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	4	0	0
John Crabb, cordoner.			
William Greenlees, one of the present baylies, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Pattersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Marion Greenlees, daughter, and Wm. Greenlees, oye, each 6 sh.; Margaret Patersoune, 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d. and 6 sh. pole,...	4	7	6
Jannet Pettersoune, widow, vintner, 6 sh.; Margaret Houstoune, her daughter, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Robert Patoun, glover.			
Robert Ross, workman, 6 sh.; Jennet Clark, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Agnes Brydene.			
John Adam, late baylie, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Peter, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
John Vass, merchant, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Adam, spouse, 6 sh.; John Adam, his father-in-law, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Petter, his spouse, 6 sh.; John and Margaret Adams, children, each 6 sh., and Margaret Vass, daughter,	6	16	0
James Wilsoune, wright.			
James Luke, maltman, no stock, 6 sh. trade 6 sh. pole; Elspe Parkhill, spouse, 6 sh.; Isobel Barr, with James Luke in house, ...	0	18	0
Robert Simpsoune, taylior, worth 500 mks. and not 5000, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Martha Glassfoord, spouse, 6 sh., ...	3	2	0
James Love, fleshour, no stock, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Margaret Whytehill, his spouse, 6 sh.; James Love, sone, fleshour, 6 sh.; Jennet Love, daughter, 6 sh., ...	1	10	0

William Androw, taylior.

Richard Glen, cordoner, 12 sh. trade and pole; Catherine Jamiesoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... £0 18 0

Robert Gibsoune, couper, 12 sh. trade and pole; and Margaret Bulloch, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Hugh Fultoune, merchant, worth 5000 and not 10,000 merks, 4 lib. 6 sh.; Anna Hendersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; William, Robert, and James, his sones, each 6 sh.; Jean Wishert, 11 lib. fie, 5 sh. 6d. pole, ... 6 1 6

John Corss, maltman, not worth 500 mks., 93 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 18 sh. 8d. and 6 sh. general pole; Agnes King, his wife, 6 sh.; John Boll, servand, 26 lib. fie, 13 sh.; Margaret Clerk, servant, 18 lib. fie, 9 sh.; Margaret Auchincloss, servt., 16 lib. 13 sh. 4d. fie, 8 sh. 4d.; Margt. Cook, 1 lib. 10 sh. fie, ... 4 6 2

Will. Caldwell, cordoner, worth 500 and not 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Davidson, spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret Stevensoune, servant, 10 lib. 13 sh. 4d. fie, 5 sh. 4d., ... 3 13 4

John Miller, church officer, 500 mks. and not 5000, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jean Miller, daughter, 6 sh., ... 3 2 0

Alexander Park, merchant.

Grissel Maxwell, widow.

Alexr. Wilsone, wright, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jennet Landess, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

William Boll, merchant, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Finlaysoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... 3 2 0

Robert Pow, baylie, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Mountgomerie, spouse, 6 sh., ... 3 2 0

Robert Sclaiter, merchant, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jean Herriot, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert, his sone, 6 sh.; Mary Shaw, servant, 4 lib. p. year, 2 sh. and 6 sh. general pole, ... 3 16 0

John Wallace, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jennet Finlaysoune, 6 sh.; Jean Kerr, servt., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ... 1 10 0

Patrick Baird, drummer.			
Robert Lang, merchant, worth 500 mks and not 5000, 2 lib. 10 sh., and 6 sh. general pole; Margaret Allasoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	£3	2	0
John Scott, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jean Yetts, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Orr, journeyman, 12 sh., ...	1	10	0
William Greenlees, Sheriff-Clerk of Renfrew, 6 lib. 6 sh., and Jean Alexr., his spouse, 6 sh., ...	6	12	0
Cornet Hamiltoune.			
Janet How, weidow, the 3d. part of her husband's pole, nottar publick, 1 lib. 12 sh. 8d.; Margaret and Agnes Parks, her daughters, each 6 sh., ...	2	4	8
James Muire, merchant, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Agnes Pow, his spouse, 6 sh.; John, William, Alexander, Agnes, and Jennet, his childrene, each 6 sh.; Jean Pow, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	5	4	0
Robert Park, towne-clerk, 6 lib. 6 sh., ...	6	6	0
William Wilsoune, officer.			
Jennet Craig, widow.			
Hugh Gibsoune, couper and merchant, worth 500 merks and not 5000, 2 lib. 10 sh.; Margaret Parkhill, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet, his daughter, 6 sh., ...	3	2	0
Matthew Stewart, taylior.			
Robert Pasley, merchant, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Ferguson, spouse, 6 sh.; and Robert, his sone, 6 sh.; Bessie Knox, servt., 20 merks fee, 12 sh. 8d.,...	4	0	8
John Mathie, merchant, worth 500 merks, 2 lib.; Margaret Craig, spouse, 6 sh.; Elizabeth, his daughter, 6 sh.; Margaret Campbell, servant, without fie, 6 sh., ...	3	4	0
David Tevindale, English schoolmaster, no stock, 6 sh.; Jean Houstoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Wm. Cumighame, of Bootstoune.			
Robert Finnie, house merchant.			
Alex. Clerk, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Janet Watsoune, spouse, 6 sh.,...	0	18	0

William Wilsoune, merchant.
James Jamiesoune, meilman.
George Boll, workman.
William Stewart, wright.
Hugh Crafoord, cordoner.
Claud Alexander, of Newtoune, for himself 4 lib. 6 sh.; Jean Ralstoune, his spouse, 6 sh.; Robert, Claud, Ursilla, and Mareon Alexanders, children, each 6 sh.; Robert Whyte, and Jennet and Issoball Waylies, servants, each 16 lib. fie, 8 sh. and 6 sh. each general pole, ... £7 18 0
James Hall, maltman.
Isobell Stewart.
Agnes Ligget.
Hew Wilsoune, workman.
Andrew Cochran, wright.
Agnes Pattisoune, widow.
James Cordoner, mercht.
Margaret King, widow.
Agnes Stewart.
William Wallace, maltman, worth 500 merks and not 5000, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Agnas Ferguson, spouse, 6 sh.; Wm., Agnas, and Elizabeth Wallaces, children, each 6 sh.; Helen Temple, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ... 4 12 0
John Whyte, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Catherine Adam, his spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0
Robert Shedden, wright, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Adam, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert, Hugh, and Margaret, children, each 6 sh.; James Stevensoune, prentice, 6 sh.; Agnes Shedden, servant, 6 lib. 10 sh. fie, ... 4 15 4
Issobel Petter, widow.
Robert Auchincloss, workman.
James Robiesoune, widower.
Jennet Reid, widow.
Helen Cochrane, widow, and her daughter, Helen Pirrhie, shewster, ... 0 12 0
Mareon Tomson, widow, ... 0 6 0

Thomas Cameron, cordoner, not worth 500 merks, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Margarett Cochran, spouse, 6 sh.; Elspe Finlaysoun, servant, 7 lib. fie, 3 sh. 6d., ...	£1	7	6
Elizabeth Campbell, weidow, 6 sh.; and Margaret Park, her daughter, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
John Cochran, wright, no stock, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Agnas Cummine, spouse, 6 sh.; Ludovick Shedden, prentice, 6 sh.; Jean Barbour, servitrix, 6 lib. fie, 3 sh. 6d. pole, ...	1	13	4
Elizabeth Love, weidow.			
Robert Semple, sheriff-depute of the Sheriffdom of Renfrew, for himself, 12 lib. 6 sh.; his lady, Jean Sitengall, 6 sh.; Adam Muire, servant, 6 lib. fie, 3 sh.; Adam Patoune, servant, 10 lib. fie, 5 sh.; and Mareoun Herriot, servitrix, 12 lib. fie, 6 sh. and 6 sh. generall pole; and Mrs. Eupham Lyon, a gentlewoman in the familie, 3 lib. 6 sh., ...	18	0	0
Jennet Craig, widow.			
Mareon Park, widow.			
Margaret Smith, widow, the 3rd part of her husband's pole, val. 100 merks, heretor; Mareon Baird, daughter, 6 sh., ...	1	18	0
Daniell Whyte, gardiner, 6 sh.; Jennet Huntar, spouse, 6 sh.; and his sone Daniell, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Mr. Neil Snodgrass, notar publick and pror. of inferior court, 4 lib. 6 sh.; Anna, his daughter, 6 sh.; Robert Allasoune, prentice, 6 sh.; Jennet Snodgrass, servant, 20 merks fee, 6 sh. 8d., ...	5	10	8
James Craig, carior, 6 sh. pole; Violet Whytehill, spouse, 6 sh.; Elspe Craig, his daughter, 6 sh.,	0	18	0
Janet Wilsoune, widow.			
Robert Love, taylior and merchant, worth 500 mks. and within 5000 mks., 2 lib. 10 sh., and 6 sh. general pole; Jennet Fyfe, his wife, and Robert, his sone, 6 sh. each, ...	3	8	0
Robert Boggs, mercht.			
Pattrick Wilsoune, taylior.			

James Wilsoune, carior, 6 sh. pole; Mary Kirlie, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Parkhill, servant, 10 lib. fee, 5 sh., ...	£1	3	0
Andrew Roward.			
Florence Baylie.			
John Herriot, baxter, 12 sh. trade and pole; and Catherine Landes, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
William Campbell, flesher, called "Reid William."			
William Baird, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret Wallace, spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret and Mareon, children, each 6 sh., ...	1	16	0
James Dunloap, maltman, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Alex$^{r.}$, his spouse, 6 sh.; and Jean, his daughter, 6 sh.; David Pinkertoun, servt., 4 lib. fie, 2 sh. and 6 sh. pole, ...	3	16	0
Pattrick Baird, taylior and mercht., 12 sh. trade and pole, depones no stock; Jennet Thomsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret Thomsoune, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., ...	1	11	0
John Cochrane, cordoner, 12 sh. trade and pole; Mary Mcfarland, his spouse, 6 sh.; and Thomas Wallace, journeyman, 12 sh., ...	1	10	0
John Wilsoune, maltman.			
James Wallace, taylior.			
James McAlpie,[1] wrytter, clerk to the Regalitie of Pasley, ...	6	6	0
Simeon Valdie, taylior.			
Robert Fork, wrytter, notar publick, ...	4	6	0
Hugh Load, taylior, within 5000 mks.; Eupham Pirrhie, his wife, ...	0	18	0
James Wilsoune, taylior.			
Marion King, widow.			
James Alexr., mercht., worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Park, spouse, 6 sh., ...	3	2	0
John Miller, officer.			
John Kuble, flesher, and Jean Semple, his spouse,...	0	12	0

[1] Afterwards Sheriff-Clerk of Renfrewshire. He had some local fame as a poet.

James Glassfoord, merchant, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 6 sh.; Agnes Gemmell, spouse, 6 sh.; William Glassfoord, his sone, 6 sh.; Jennet Foster, servant, 2 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	£4	0	0
William Reid, merchant, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Helen Gray, spouse, 6 sh.; William and Helen, his sone and daughter, each 6 sh.; Elspe Pinkertoun, servt., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh.; Jennet Brownsyd, servt., 4 mks. fie, ...	4	14	8
Alex. Finlaysoune, merchant, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jean Pasley, spouse, 6 sh.; Alexr., Robert, Jean, Euphane, and Agnes, his children, each 6 sh., ...	4	12	0
John Sclaitter, workman.			
Robert Meinzies, late baylie of Pasley, gentleman, 3 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet Love, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert and Jennet, his childrene, each 6 sh.; Mareon Craig, servant, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh and 6 sh. general pole, ...	4	14	0
Jennet Gemmel, weidow, ...	0	6	0
Thomas Wilsoune, messenger, 4 lib. 6 sh.; Margaret Landess, spouse, 6 sh.; Isobell Snodgrass, servant, 10 lib. fie, 5 sh., ...	5	3	0
Robert Brock, elder.			
Thomas Reid, workman.			
John Robiesoune, weiver.			
Marion Davidsoune.			
Wm. Whyte, cordoner.			
James Cunnigham, weiver, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Mary Stewart, spouse, 6 sh.; John, his sone, 6 sh., ...	3	8	0
Margaret Neilsoune, widow.			
Mr. Kerr, schoolmaster.			
Mr. James Wallace, student, ...	0	6	0
James Fleeming, elder, flesher, and Agnes Patoune, his wife, ...	0	12	0
John Cochran, taylior.			
William Kuble, flesher, and Elspeth Sclaitter, his spouse, ...	0	18	0

William Gibsoune, merct., not worth 500 mks., 12 sh. trade and pole; William Gibsoune, his sone, taylior, 12 sh.; Grissel Boll, spouse, 6 sh.; and Alex. Gibsoune, his other sone, 12 sh.,... ...	£2	2	0
Robert Provin, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Grissell Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; Alexr. Gibsoune, journeyman, 12 sh.; Gabriell Gemmell and James Caldwell, prentices, each 6 sh., ...	2	2	0
William Caldwall, weiver in Sneddoune, worth 500 merks, 2 lb. 16 sh.; Margaret King, spouse, 6 sh.; John Kerr and John Paull, prentices, each 6 sh.; John M'Crae, journeyman, 12 sh.; Elspe Proven, sert., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh. fie and pole, ...	4	18	0
John Boll, weiver, no stock, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jennet Wilsoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
William Boll, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Mareon Speir, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
John Smith, smith.			
John Faulds, workman.			
John Tod, workman, 6 sh.; Margaret Alexander, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
John Semple, taylior, 12 sh.; Mareon Reid, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Thomas Reid, cordoner, 12s.; and Issobell Corss, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Pattrick Robiesoune, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; and Issobel Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Robert Whyte, workman, 6 sh.; Christian Stewart, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Robert Fork, late baylie, no stock, 6 sh.; Margaret Colquhoune, spouse, 6 sh.; and Robert, his sone, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Thomas Greenlees.			
Elizabeth Greenlees.			
John Greenlees, weiver, worth 500 mks.; Margaret Nicol, his spouse; John Robiesoune, his journeman, ...	1	10	0
Robt. Alexander, merchant, present baylie, worth 10,000 merks, 10 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet Snodgrass, his spouse, 6 sh.; Mary, Jennet, and Elizabeth			

Alexanders, his daughters, each 6 sh.; Annable Barr, his servitrix, 12 lib. fie, 6 sh., haveing payed the generall pole with her husband, ... £11 10 0

Cuthbert Kirrlie, messenger, 4 lib. 6 sh.; Catherine Millar, spouse, 6 sh.; Cudbert and William Kirrlies, each 6 sh., ... 5 4 0

Hugh Smith, dragoune.

Robert Urie, cordonar.

John Corss, gunner.

Elisone King, widow.

William Campbell, flesher, called "Black William," not worth 500 mks., 6 sh. pole; Janet Ravane, his spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Janet Walker, widow.

Margaret Reid.

James Caldwell, workman.

Gavin Walkinshaw of y^t^ Ilk, gentleman, 3 lib. 6 sh.; his sone James, 6 sh., ... 4 4 8

John Dunsmuire.

William Gemmell, merchant, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Bessie King, spouse, 6 sh.; and Elizabeth, his daughter, 6 sh., ... 3 8 0

Matthew Findlaysoune, maltman, not worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 6 sh.; Elspe Neasmith, spouse, 6 sh.; and Elspe, his daughter, 6 sh., ... 3 8 0

William Rodger, wright, no stock, 12 sh. trade and pole; Catherine Jamiesoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

John Biggart, maltman.

John Snodgrass, workman.

Andrew Wilsoune, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret Cumine, spouse, 6 sh.; James Sclaitter and Robert Gilmour, prentices, 6 sh. each, ... 1 10 0

James Fleeming, yr., flesher.

Pattrick Baird and Mareon Baird, his daughter, widow,

John Crafoord of Garrive, 100 lib. val., 4 lib. 6 sh.; Margaret Vauss, his spouse, 6 sh.; Hugh and Pattrick, childrene, each 6 sh.; Elizabeth Arskine and Catharine Wilsoune, servts., each 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Hector M'Lean, servant, 6 lib. fie, 3 sh. and 6 sh. each generall pole, ... 7 1 0

William Gillies, cordoner.
Francis Sleman, sheriff-officer.
Christian Hendersoune, widow, worth 500 and within 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; and Jean, her daughter, 6 sh., ... £3 2 0
Pattrick Caldwall, church officer, no stock, 6 sh.; Margaret Adam, his spouse, 6 sh.; and Jean, his daughter, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0
William Chambers, carier.
Steven Alexr., carier.
William Glasfoord, carier.
Malcome Shaw, workman.
John Stewart, sheriff-officer.
John Robiesoun, cordoner.
James Craig, weiver.
James Campbell, litster, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret Stewart, spouse, 6 sh.; Elizabeth Landess, her mother, 6 sh.; Elspe Stewart, her sister, 6 sh., ... 1 10 0
Robert Greenlees, cordoner.
Mareon and Jennet Greinlees.
William Greenlees, cordoner.
Margaret Shaw.
John Adam, wright, worth 500 and within 5000 merks, 2 lib. 6 sh.; Margaret Pettersoune, spouse, Thomas, John, Robert, Margaret, and Isobell, children, each 6 sh.; Gavan Rowand and Bartholomew Algo, prentices, each 6 sh.; Elspe Craig, servt., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ... 5 16 0
Jennet Pettersoune, widow.
Jean Davidsoune.
William Stevensoune, mercht.
Jennet Colquhoune, widow, the 3d part of her husband's pole being valued to 500 merks, is 16 sh. 8d. and 6 sh. general pole, ... 1 2 8
John Whyte, apothecarie, 12 lib. 6 sh.; Jean Johnstoun, his spouse, 6 sh.; Robert, John, and Agnes Whytes, his children, each 6 sh.; Jean Young, sert., 2 lib. fie, 1 sh. and 6 sh. general pole, ... 13 17 6

Claud Alexander.			
Issobel Norie.			
Catherine Veitch, relict of James Castellan, the 3d part of her husband's pole, being worth 500 merks, ...	£1	2	8
Thomas Arthouer, wiggmaker.			
John Neilsoune, maltman, worth 100 merks and within 500 merks, 13 sh. 4d.; Jennet Fleming, his spouse, 6 sh.; Janet Stewart, servt., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	1	17	10
William Skeoch, cordoner, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 6 sh.; Mareon Kirrlie, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert and Cuthbert, his sones, each 6 sh.; Archibald Stewart, prentice, 6 sh., ...	4	0	0
John Fork, yor., wrytter, nether notar nor procurator,	0	6	0
Jean Park, sheuster, ...	0	6	0
Elizabeth Whitehill, widow, 16 sh. 8d. for herself as the 3d part of the pole of her husband, John Carswell, worth 500 mks.; Elspe Anderson, daughter, 6 sh., ...	1	8	8
John Patoune, sadler, 12 sh. trade and pole; Agnes Patoune, spouse, 6 sh.; and Jean Knox, servant, 15 lib. fee, 7 sh. 6d., ...	1	13	6
John Patoune, late shouldiour.			
John Park, cordoner.			
James Buie, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Janet Greenlees, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Thomas Greenleeses, prentices, each 6 sh., ...	1	10	0
John Love, smith.			
Isobel Wilsoune.			
Pattrick Carswall, wrytter and public nottar; Margaret Stirret, his spouse; Mr. James, Margaret, Pattrick, Jean, Catherine, Mareon, and Agnes, children; Thomas Lochhead, servt., 4 lib. fie; Agnes Hall, 7 lib. fie, ...	7	11	6
Margaret Stewart, widow, ...	0	6	0
John Snodgrass, at the receat of custome.			
Elizabeth Brown, widow.			
Alex. Craig, weiver.			

Elizabeth Fergusoun, widow, 16 sh. 8d., as the 3d pairt of her husband's pole and 6 sh. general pole; Agnes Wallace, her daughter, 6 sh., ...	£1	8	8
James Muire, mercht., 500 and within 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Wallace, his spouse, 6 sh.; Jean and Elizabeth Muires, children, each 6 sh.; Wallace Finlaysoune, her son, 6 sh.; Jennet Storrie, servant, 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; Grissell Craig, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	5	5	6
John Kerr, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret Chambers, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Agnes Stewart, widow, 1 lib. 16 sh.; Elspeth Gibsone, in house with her, 6 sh., ...	2	0	0
Doctor John Johnstoune, 12 lib. 6 sh.; Helen Little, spouse, 6 sh.: John, Christian, Helen, and Elizabeth Johnstounes, children, each 6 sh.; Elizabeth M'Kie and Margaret Johnstoune, servants, each 16 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 6 sh. 8d. ...	15	1	4
Mr. Thomas Blackwell, minister, 3 lib. 6 sh.; Agnes Admount, servitrix, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	3	18	0
Ladie Barnes.			
John Gibb, gardiner.			
Robt. Aitken, yor.			
William Simpsoune, wrytter and notary; Janet Alexander, spouse; Claud, Charles, William, and Jennet Simpsounes, children, ...	5	16	0
Alexr. Jamiesoune, wright, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jean Cunninghame, his spouse, 6 sh.; Euphane, his daughter, 6 sh.; John Miller, prentice, 6s.,	1	10	0
John Wilsoune, smith, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet Pettersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Hugh, Jennet, Catharine, and George, children, each 6 sh., ...	4	6	0
William Alexander, late baylie, worth 500 and not 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Hamiltoune, his spouse, 6 sh.; James, John, Robert, William, Margaret, and Elizabeth, children, each 6 sh.; Catherine Alexander, servt., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh.,	5	10	0
Robert Pettersoune, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jean Hendersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John Wilsoune, prentice, 6 sh.	1	4	0

Jennet Carswell, weidow.
John Kerr, cordoner.
Walter Cochran, smith.
Jennet Alexander, widow.
John Martine, workman, 6 sh.; Margaret Craig, spouse, 6 sh., ... £0 12 0
Thomas Kerr, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jennet McKie, his wife, 6 sh.; Thomas Kerr, shouldior, his sone, lying cureing of his wounds these 3 years, ... 0 18 0
Robert Park, wiver.
James Hastie.
Thomas Greenlees, maltman.
Elizabeth Kuble, widow.
Robert Park, maltman, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Issoball Adam, his spouse, 6 sh.; Robert, Eleza, and Jean, his children, each 6 sh.; Jean Campbell, servt., at her own hand before Martiemess, 6 sh.; Bessie Craig, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh.,... 4 18 0
John Gemmel, workman.
Hugh Pettersoune, gardiner in Catchpole, ... 0 6 0
James Pettersoune.
John Fultoun, maltman, 12 sh. trade and pole; Helen Biggert, spouse, 6 sh.; Margt. Wilsoune, servt., 14 merks fie, 4 sh. 8d., ... 1 8 8
Doctor James Baird.
John Arskine, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Issobell Blair, his spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0
John Campbell, appothecarie, 12 lib. 6 sh.; Margaret Walkinshaw, spouse, 6 sh.; Mary Houstoune, servt., 20 merks fie, 6 sh. 8d.; Petter Pettersoune and Wm. Park, prentices, each 9 sh.; Jennet Campbell, his daughter, 6 sh., ... 14 2 8
Alexander Miller, cordoner, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jennet Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0
Robert Pettersoune, taylior, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jean Fergusoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... 3 2 0
Robert Pow, appothecarie, 12 lib. 6 sh.; Agnes Carswell, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas and Elizabeth,

children, each 6 sh. ; Margaret Carswell, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., ... £13 17 0

Thomas Carswall, mercht., worth 500 mks. and not 5000, 2 lib. 10 sh., pole, 6sh., ... 2 16 0

Robert Arskine, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Marion King, spouse, 6 sh. ; Jennet, his daughter, 6 sh., 1 4 0

Marion Pattiesoune, weidow,... 0 6 0

Mr. John Bunen.

Mr. Exekiell Mountgomerie.[1]

William Baird, masone, worth 100 mks., 12 sh. trade and pole ; Jennet Stewart, spouse, 6 sh. ; Mary Pattersoune, servt., 13 lib. fie, 6 sh. 6d., ... 1 10 6

William Park, cordoner.

Alexr. Whyte, cordonar, 12 sh. trade and pole ; Elspe Pollock, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Thomas Gemmell, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Marion Glassfoord, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

William Greenlies.

James Sclatter.

Robert Greenlees, cordoner, 12 sh. trade and pole ; Jean Gardiner, spouse, 6 sh. ; Jean Johnstoune, step-daughter, 14 lib. fie, 13 sh. ; George Johnstoune and William Greenlees, journeymen, each 12 sh., ... 2 15 0

Jean Fleming.

William Reid, taylior, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh. ; Marion Sclaiter, spouse, 6 sh. ; William and Margaret, children, each 6 sh., ... 3 14 0

James Smith, cuttler, 12 sh. trade and pole ; Jennet Stewart, his spouse, 6 sh. ; Margt. Smith, his daughter, 6 sh., ... 1 4 0

Robert Sclaiter, cordoner, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret Merschell, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Archibald Crafoord, of Auchinames, 2005 merks val. thereof and Crosbie, is 24 lib. 6 sh ; for Annable Stewart, his lady, 6 sh. ; Anna, Jean, and Margaret Craufourds, daughters, each 6 sh. ; Jean Porterfield, his daughter-in-law, 6 sh. ; Elizabeth

[1] See *ante*, p. 291.

Brown, servt., 38 lib. fie, 1 lib. 5 sh.; Issobell Leun, servt., 16 lib. fie, 14 sh.; Arch. Mackillup, 18 lib. fie, 15 sh.; Jennet Lang, servt.. fie, 16 lib., pole 14 sh.; Jennet Orr, 16 lib. fie, pole 14 sh.,	£29	18	0
Jean Ross.			
Matthew Corss, maltman, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Catherine Martine, spouse, 6 sh.; Walter and David, his sones, each 6 sh.; James Wallace, servant, 26 lib. fie, 13 sh.; Agnes Cochrane and Issobell Aitkine, servants, each 17 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 8 sh. 8d.; Allan Faulds, 4 lib. fie, 2 sh., and 6 sh. each general pole, ...	6	4	4
Alexander Stevensoune, litster, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jean Sangster, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Robert Whyte, cordoner.			
Robert Liggett, smith, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Howie, his spouse, 6 sh.; John and Barbara, his childrene, each 6 sh.; John Semple, prentice, 6 sh., ...	4	0	0
Jean Arthoure, widow.			
Allan Androw, wiver.			
Mareon Shaw, widow.			
Thomas Gemmell, yor., weiver, 12 sh.; Annabell Barr, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
William Snodgrass, weiver, 12 sh.; and Margt. Nicol, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
James Arthour, mercht., worth 500 and within 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Cumine, spouse, 6 sh.; John, William, James, and Margaret, children, each 6 sh.; Jennet Gillies and Jennet Caddel, servants, each 14 lib. fie, 7 sh. each, ...	5	10	0
Archibald Arthoure, merchand, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Archibald, John, William, Edward, Margt., Agnes, and Marie, his children, each 6 sh.; Agnas Gibsoune, servand, 12 lib. fie, 12 shilling Scotts, ...	5	10	0
Mareon, Smith, widow.			
Agnes Cumine, widow.	0	6	0
William Kennedie, taylior, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jennet Lock, his wife, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0

James Alexr., in Orchyeard, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret King, his wife, and John Wilsoune, prentice, each 6 sh., ...	£1	4	0
Arthour Lang, weiver, 12 sh.; Mareon Whyte, his wife, 6 sh.; Arthour and Alexr., his sones, each 6 sh.,	1	10	0
John Lang, weiver, worth 500 mks.; Mary King, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Robert Craig, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Robert, his sones, each 6 sh., ...	1	10	0
Archibald Andersoun, couper.			
Hugh Lang, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole, ...	0	12	0
John Knock, weiver, 6 sh. trade and 6 sh. pole; Jennet Craig, his spouse, 6 sh.; Allan Jamiesoun, journeyman, 12 sh., ...	1	10	0
Robert Knock, weiver, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jean Parkhill, spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret, her daughter, 6 sh.; Robert Hodsyeard, William Pettersoune, and Robert Brownsyde, prentices, each 6 sh., ...	4	6	0
James Robiesoune, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Elspe Stewart, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Robert Watsoune, workman.			
Robert Wilsoune, weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Scott, spouse, 6 sh.; William Wilsoune, prentice, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
William Barr, mercht., no stock, 12 sh.; Jennet Sheills, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
William Areskine, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Jean Browne, spouse, 6 sh.; Janet Arskene, his daughter, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
James Whyte, smith.			
Issobel Greenlees, widow.			
John Kylle,[1] weiver, worth 500 and within 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; John, Matthew, and Agnes Kylles, his childrene, each 6 sh.; Margaret Davidsoune, sert., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	4	6	0

[1] Boxmaster of the Incorporation of Weavers. His son, Matthew, was appointed a bailie thirteen times, and was one of the two hostages for the payment of the fine of £500 imposed upon the town by Prince Charles, January 30, 1745.

Allan Androw, weiver; Margaret Wattsoune, his wife; and Thomas Androw, prentice, ...	£1	4	0
Issobell Semple, widow.			
Robert Pettersoune, weiver, 12 sh.; Margaret Auchinclosse, spouse, 6 sh.; Wm. Whyte, prentice, 6 sh.,	1	4	0
Margaret Rosse, widow, ...	0	6	0
John Marschell, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margaret Faulds, spouse, 6 sh.; John Robiesoune, journeyman, 12 sh., ...	1	10	0
John Greenleis, weiver, 12 sh.; Margaret Davidsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; William Davidsoune and John Dunsmuire, prentices, each 6 sh., ...	1	10	0
Robert Wilsoune, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margt. Clerk, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
James Gardiner, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Erstoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret Adam, servant, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh.; Margt., his daughter, 6 sh., ...	3	18	0
Robert Arskine, yor., wiver.			
John Androw, mealman, no stock, 6 sh.; Janet Andrew, his daughter, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
James Dunsmuir.			
Alexr. Davidsoune, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Elspeth Pasley, spouse, 6 sh; John Pasley, journeyman, 12 sh., ...	1	10	0
Jennet Pasley, widow, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 10 sh. and 6 sh.; Robert and Janet Steinsons, children, each 6 sh.; Jean Allan, servt., 10 lib. fie, 5 sh., ...	0	4	3
Alexr. Muire, weiver, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margaret Davidsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas Davidsoune, prentice, 6 sh.; Jennet Greenlees, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	4	0	0
Robert Clerk, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Catherine Andersoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Agnas Kylle, weidow, worth 500 and not 5000 merks,	2	16	0
John Petter, weiver, 6 sh. trade and 6 sh. pole, ...	0	12	0
James Alexr., elder, weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Jamiesoune, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Margaret Orr, widow.			

Robert Lochhead, wever, 12 sh.; Jean Petter, spouse, 6 sh., ...	£0	18	0
William Andersoune, weiver, 12 sh.; Agnas Cunninghame, spouse, 6 sh.; John Cunninghame, Abram Pettersoune, and Will. Andersoune, prentices, each 6 sh., ...	1	16	0
William Robiesoune, mercht., worth 5000 and not 10,000 merks, 4 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet Ritchie, spouse, 6 sh.; William, Catherine, Elspe, Jean, and Margaret, his children, each 6 sh.; Robert Robiesoune, in the house with him, at the school, 6 sh.; and Agnes Wallace, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	7	0	0
John Storie, merchant, worth 5000 and not 10,000 merks, 4 lib. 6 sh.; Elizabeth Lyle, spouse, 6 sh.; John, Margaret, Jennet, George, Jean, and James, children, each 6 sh.; Elizabeth Foyer and Elspeth Kerr, each 10 lib. fie, 5 sh., ...	7	10	0
John Brock, mercht., worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Pasley, spouse, 6 sh.; John, Robert, Thomas, Jennet, Elspe, Jean, and Margaret, children, each 6 sh.; Jennet Sheills, servd., 11 lib. fie, 5 sh. 6d., ...	5	15	6
Elizabeth Robesoune, widow.			
Alexr. Pettersoune, weiver, 12 sh.; Elizabeth Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John Wishert, prentice, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
Thomas Caldwell, elder, mercht., worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet, his daughter, 6 sh.; Margaret Androw and Margaret Young, servands, each 12 lib. fie, 12 sh. each, ...	4	12	0
Thomas Caldwall, yor., mercht., worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Elspe Androw and Helen Love, each 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	4	6	0
William King, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Agnes Alexr., his spouse, 6 sh.; James King, journeyman, 12 sh.; Margaret Forrester, servt., 8 lib. fie, 4 sh., and 6 sh. pole,...	2	0	0

John Pinkertoun, weiver, 12 sh. trade and pole; Margt. Lennox, spouse, 6 sh.; William Caldwall and William Alexr., prentices, each 6 sh., ... £1 10 0

James King, weiver, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Kerr, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas, James, and John, his sones, each 6 sh.; John Lindsay and John Gibsoune, journeymen, each 12 sh.; John Doughald, prentice, 6 sh.; Jean Proven, sert., 7 lib. fie, 3 sh. 6d., ... 5 13 6

James Davidsoune, mercht., worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Elspe Storrie, spouse, 6 sh.; James and John Davidsounes, his sones, each 6 sh., ... 3 14 0

Robert Alexr., weiver, yr., 12 sh.; Issobell King, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Frall, servant, 20 merks fie, 6 sh. 8d., ... 1 10 8

Edward Robiesoun, taylior, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Bessie Carswall, spouse, 6 sh.; James and Mary, children, each 6 sh.; Isobell Young, servt., 10 lib. fie, 5 sh.; Mary Whyte, servant, 12 lib. fie, 6 sh., ... 4 17 0

Agnes Cochrane, weidow, 6 sh.; Agnes Gibsoune, servant, 20 merks fie, 6 sh. 8d.,... 0 18 8

Robert Wilsoune, wiver.

Andrew Storrie, wiver.

Mareon Alexr., widow.

James Andersoune.

John Andersoun, weiver, his sone, 12 sh. trade and pole; Grissell Jamiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Agnes Wilsoune, servt., without fie, 6 sh., ... 1 4 0

George Andersoune, his oyer sone, a wiver.

William Muire, weiver, 12 sh.; Margt. Patoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

William Wilsoune, weiver, 12 sh.; Jean Sleman, spouse, 6 sh.; John Storrie and James Liggat, journeymen, each 12 sh., ... 2 2 0

Grissel Wilsoune, widow.

Alexr. Marshall, weiver, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Mareon Calbraith, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Gibsoune, journeyman, 12 sh.; Margaret Muir, servant, 6 lib. fie, 3 sh., ... 1 19 0

George Scott, merchant, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Issobell Wilsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas, George, Margaret, Issobell, and Euphane Scotts, children, each 6 sh.; Euphane Pettersoune, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ... £5 4 0

William Finlaysoune, mercht., worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margt. Arthoure, spouse, 6 sh.; James, Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth, children, each 6 sh.; Agnes Miller, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Issobel Landess, servant, 10 lib. fie, 5 sh., ... 5 16 0

Robert Craig, weiver in Seedhill, 12 sh.; and Mary Davidsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; and Robert, his sone, 6 sh., ... 1 10 0

Issobell Wilsoune, widow.

Ninian Pattesoune, millner, worth 500 mks. and not 5000, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jennet Brown, his spouse, 6 sh.; Mareon, Richard, and Margaret, his children, each 6 sh., ... 4 0 0

Laurence Burnes, millner.

Helen Park, widow.

John Park, called Laird.

Margaret Pettersoune, widow.

John Barnes, millner, 12 sh. trade and pole; Catherine Love, his spouse, 6 sh.; and Euphane, his daughter, 6 sh., ... 1 4 0

Robert Barnes, millner, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jean Jamieson, spouse, 6 sh., refuses to depone,... 3 2 0

Margaret Adam, widow.

Margaret Reid, widow.

Helen Summers, widow.

John Park, casuend.

William Love, maltman, worth 500 and not 5000 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jannet Park, his spouse, and William, Robert, Jennet, Agnes, and Elspe, children, each 6 sh., ... 4 12 0

John Love, maltman, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 6 sh.; Jean Caldwell, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet and Jean Loves, daughters, each 6 sh.; Jennet Jamiesoune,

servt., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Jean Barr, servant, 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d., ... £5 1 0

Bartholemew Park, wiver.

Elspeth Ralstoune, widow.

Thomas Foster, meilman.

William Park, meilman, and Margaret Wallace, his wife, ... 0 12 0

Robert Park, cordoner, worth 500 and not 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margt. Cochran, spouse, 6 sh.; Issobell, Mary, John, and Elizabeth, children, each 6 sh.; Issobell Robiesoune, servant, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh., ... 5 0 0

John Park, *alias* Braehead, ... 0 6 0

James McNab.

Andrew Forfar.

John Reid, taylior.

Grissell Love, widow.

Gavin Maxwell, in Hutthead, worth 5000 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; John, Robert, and Jennet, his children, each 6 sh.; Catherine Gibsoune, servt., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., and 6 sh. pole, ... 4 7 0

The Bailies of Paisley, for the valuation of Oxshawsyde, 24 lib., and Sneddoune, 53 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 1 0 8

William Cochran, chamberlain to the Earl of Dundonald, worth of free stock and means 5000 and within 10,000 mks. Scots, 4 lib. 6 sh.; Bethia Blair, his spouse, 6 sh.; John and Helen Cochran, his children, each 6 sh.; John Orr, his servt., fie and bounties, 18 lib., 15 sh.; Bethia Gillies, servt., 16 lib. fie, 14 sh.; ———— servt., 16 lib. fie, 14 sh.; Jean Lindsay, servt., 14 lib. fie, 13 sh.; and Mareon Miller, his neice, 6 sh., ... 8 6 0

Agnes Cunningham, relict of John Hamiltoune of Barr, being liable to the third of her husband's pole, ... 3 6 0

John Wilsoune, late baylie, worth 500 and within 5000 mks.; Marie Park, his wife; Robert, William, Marie, Jean, and Grizzel Wilsounes, his children; Euphan Moderall, servd., half-year's fie, 8 lib. Scots, ... 4 16 0

John Carswell, smith, ...	£0	12	0
John Knox, weiver, and Jonnet Craig, his spouse, ...	0	18	0
Margaret Baird, relict of John Parkhill, maltman, 1 lib. 2 sh. 8d.; Agnas, Robert, and Margaret Parkhills, her children, each 6 sh.; Jonnet Landess, servd., 16 lib. fie, 14 sh., ...	2	14	8
Robert Erskine, weiver; Marion Fleming, his spouse; and Janet Erskine, his daur., ...	1	4	0
William Snodgrass, weiver, and Margaret Davidsoune, his spouse, ...	0	18	0
John Greenlees, weiver, worth 500 mks.; Margaret Nicoll, his spouse; John Robiesoune, jorneyman,	1	10	0
Janet Cochran, widow, in Calsyside; Agnes Gibsoune, her servd., 12 mks., ...	0	16	0
James Cochrane, of Mainshill, heretor, his valued rent above 200 and under 500 libs., is 9 lib. 6 sh.; Orsilla Hamilton, his wife, 6 sh.; Hugh, James, Eupham, Jean, and Christian Cochranes, each 6 sh.; William Young, 22 lib. 16 sh. fie, 17 sh. 4d.; Margaret Norrie and Margaret Stewart, each 20 mks. fie, 12 sh. 8d.; Marie Faulds, his nurse, 20 lib. fie, is 16 sh.	14	0	8
William Hendersoune, indweller in Paisley; Marie Hendersoune, his sister; Helen Bogge, servt., 16 lib. fie,...	1	6	0
Pattrick Baird, drummer; Helen Pirrhie, his wife; Elizabeth and Jonnet Bairds, his childrene, ...	1	4	0

The list for the toune of Paisley was made up by Gavin Cochran of Craigmuire; James Dunloap, of Houshill; Claud Alexander, of Newtoune; and Robert Pow, one of the baylies of Paisley; and Robert Park, yr., clerk, appointed by Commissioners of Supply, and delivered on 28th October, 1695.

Landward Part.

THE EARLE OF DUNDONALD'S LANDS, WITHIN THE PAROCHINE OF PASLEY.

David Aga, in Gallowhill, val. 100 lib., 1 lib. 6 sh. pole; Jean Adam, his spouse, 6 sh.; Mary Adam, servant, no fie, only meat and clothes, 6 sh.; Jennet Androw, servant, 10 lib. fie, 5 sh.; Jean Miller, servt., 12 lib. fie, 6 sh.; Wm. Snodgrass, servt. with him, paid in Govan, ...	£3	1	0
William Langmure, workman, 6 sh.; Margaret Hodsyaird, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Langmure, his daughter, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Issobel Pirrhie, widow, 6 sh.; Robert Fleeming, her sone, weiver, 12 sh.; Androw Baird, prentice, 6 sh.; William Snodgrass, prentice, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
Robert Allasoune, weiver, 12 sh.; Jennat Algeo, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Gavin Kuble, in Erklestoune, value 200 lib., is of pole 2 lib., and general pole 6 sh.; Gavin and Agnas Kubles, children, each 6 sh.; and William Langmuir, servant, 8 lib., is of pole 4 sh., and 6 sh. pole; Margaret Cochran, servt., 16 lib. fie, is of pole 14 sh., ...	4	8	0
Gavin Kuble, 6 sh.; and Elspeth Kuble, his wife, 6 sh.; and Jennet Clerk, servt., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh.,	1	4	0
James Stewart, cottar, 6 sh.; Jean Wilsoune, his wife, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
William Rodger, cottar, 6 sh.; Mary Kuble, his wife, 6 sh.; Jean Bell, servt., 16 lib. fie, ...	1	6	0
Gabriell Whyte, cottar.			
William Kuble, cottar.			
John Cumine, heretor, val. 40 lib., 1 lib. 6 sh.; Grissell, Mary, Jennet, Catherine, James, on his goodsone, 6 sh.; Agnas Robiesoun, her hervest fie, 6 lib., 3 sh., ...	2	19	0
Thomas Craig, yr., 100 lib. val., 1 lib., and 6 sh. general pole; Issobell Brock, spouse, 6 sh.; Helen Craig, daughr., 6 sh.; John Cochran, his			

harvest fie, 8 lib., 4 sh.; John Muire, his harvest fie, 7 lib., 3 sh. 6d.; Jean Brown, in harvest 6 lib. fie, 3 sh., ... £2 8 6

William Jamieson, weiver, cottar, 12 sh.; Margaret Johnstoun, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Matthew Lochead, elder, in Hillingtoune, ... 0 12 0

Catherine Lochhead, yr., 25 lib., 5 sh., and 6 sh. general pole; John Somervail, her sone, 6 sh., 0 17 0

Robert Gilmour, yr., 50 lib. val., 10 sh., and 6 sh. general pole; Elspe Wilsoune, spouse; Robt. Gilmour, sone, 6 sh.; James Sclaitter, harvest fie, 6 lib., 3 sh.; Margaret Wallace, 5 lib., 2 sh. 6d., 1 13 6

John Lochhead, yr.

Matthew Lochhead, yr.

Hendrie Wilsoune, yr., 6 sh.; Catherine, daughter, 6 sh.; Elspe Lyll, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Jennet and David, children; Jennet Tomson and Jennet Langmuire, each 6 lib. fie, 3 sh. each, ... 3 13 0

Margaret Pattesoune, cottar.

Hendrie Lochhead, yr., 100 lib. val., 1 lib.; Agnas Riddell, spouse, 6 sh.; John Clark, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Annabell Gardiner, Margaret Miller, and Elizabeth Park, each 6 lib. harvest fie, 3 sh.; John Lochhead, his father, 6 sh.; Elspe Lock, mother, 6 sh.; Matthew Lochhead, his brother, 6 sh., ... 3 13 0

Robert Lochhead, taylior, if not in Newton.

John Craig, in Greenlaw, 40 merks val., weiver, 12 sh.; Margarett Pinkertoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas Craig, his brother, prentice, 6 sh.; Girzal Craig, harvest fie, 4 lib. 13 sh. 4d., 2 sh. 4d., ... 1 6 4

James Craig, yr., 40 merks val., 11 sh. 6d.; Jennet Craig, his spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 12 0

Robert Fleming, yr., weiver, val. 58 lib., is of 11 sh. 8d., generall pole 6 sh.; Agnas Glen, his wife, 6 sh.; John and Claud Fleming, his bairns, each 6 sh.; John and James Muires, prentices, each 6 sh.; and John Adam, his servant, 5 lib. of fie, is of pole 7 sh., and general pole 6sh., ... 0 17 0

William Clayd, gardiner, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 10 sh., and 6 sh. of gen. pole; Jennet Parkhill, spouse, 6 sh.; William and John Clayds, children, each 6 sh.; Margaret Sclaitter, servt., 11 lib. fie, 5 sh. 6d.; Wm. Nisbet and Robt. Pattersoun, prentices, each 6 sh., ... £4 17 6

William Kuble, in Whytefoord, hereter, 66 lib. 13 sh. 4d. val., 9 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet Finlaysoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Christian and Jennet, children, each 6 sh.; John Jamiesoun, servt., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh., ... 6 0 0

James Kuble, his sone, heretor, 50 merks val., 1 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet M'Gie, spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret Bool, servt., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; Jean Knox, in harvest 8 merks fie, 2 sh. 8d., ... 2 3 2

John Rodger, in Brebloch.

John Houstoune, gunsmith.

Katherine Cathcart, weidow.

David Gardner, in Hunterhill.

John Baird, yr., 12 lib., 2 sh., pole 6 sh.; Jennet Baird, his spouse; John, Elspe, and Jean Bairds, children, each 6 sh., ... 1 12 0

Gabriell Gilmour, in Thurscraig, 50 merks val., 6 sh. 8d.; Bessie Park, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Alexander, 6 lib. fie in hervest, 3 sh.; Jean Meikle, 8 merks hervest fie, 2 sh.; Archibald Carswell, 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh., ... 1 7 4

Andrew Stewart, in Whytefoord, hereter, 20 lib. val., 6 sh.; Elspe Boyd, spouse, 6 sh.; Andrew Mitchell, servant, 14 lib. 10 sh. fie, 7 sh. 4d.; Issobell Hamiltoune, servt., 11 lib. fie, 5 sh., ... 2 17 0

Thomas Young, cottar, no trade, 6 sh.; Agnas Moodie, spouse, 6 sh.; and Agnas, his daughter, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

John Duloap, workman, and Mary Wallace, spouse, 0 12 0

Issobell Renfrew.

Jean Greenlees.

Margaret Inch.

Bessie Muire, in Hillhead, 133 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 1 lib. 12 sh. 8d.; Issobell Cochran, his daugh., 6 sh., ... 1 18 8

James Alexander, yor., in Candrons, 108 merks val., 1 lib. 1 sh. 4d.; Mareon Whyte, his wife, 6 sh.; John Boogs and Robert Liggat, servands, 25 lib. 10 sh. fie, each 12 sh. 10d.; Catherine Gardner, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Jennet Stevensoune, Marjorie Pollock, and Jean Caldwall, each 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh., ... £4 3 10

Issobel Greenlees, cottar, yr.

John Alexr., *alias* Moss John, 80 merks val., 10 sh. 8d.; Margaret Locke, his mother, 6 sh.; Robert and Agnas, her bairnes, each 6 sh., ... 1 14 8

James Corss, cottar, no trade, 6 sh.; Margaret Gardiner, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 12 0

Robert Hogg, in Candren, 80 merks; Grissel Gibsoun, wife; Jannet Hogg, daur., ... 1 8 0

William Lochhead, his cottar, and Agnas Snodgrass, spouse, ... 0 12 0

Dorothie Sclaiter, weidow, in Candren, 53 lib. val., 10 sh. 8d.; Margaret and Elizabeth Finlaysounes, her daughters, each 6 sh., ... 1 8 8

John Gibb, in Linclive, 233 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 2 lib. 6 sh. 8d.; Margaret Muire, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean Wilsoune, his mother, 6 sh.; John Gibb, his cusine-german, in house with him, 6 sh.; Gabriel Wilsoune, sert., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Thomas Jamiesoune, 18 lib. fie, 9 sh.; Matthew Hendersoune, 17 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 8 sh. 8d.; Jean Wilsoune, 12 lib. fie, 6 sh.; Issobel Glen, 12 lib. fie, 6 sh.; Issobel Wilsoune, 10 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 5 sh. 2d.; and 6 sh. each general pole, ... 7 8 8

Robert Alexr., weiver, cottar, 12 sh.; Jennet Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Alex., a prentice, 6 sh.,... 1 4 0

Robert Gibb, cottar, on charitie.

Issobell Merchant, widow, on charitie.

Robert Stewart, in Heristoune, 37 lib. 13 sh. 4d. val., 7 sh. 8d.; Margaret and Mary, children, each 6 sh., 1 11 6

Alexander Hendersoune, in Burnebrae, 21 lib. 6 sh. 8d.; Agnes Jamiesoune, spouse, ... 0 16 2

James Wodrow, in Robins Yeard, 16 merks val., 3 sh. 2d.; Grissel Snodgrass, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 14 4

John Whyte, in Barskivan, 129 lib. val., 1 lib. 5 sh. 10d.; Issobel Lochhead, spouse, 6 sh.; John, James, Helen, and Jennet, his children, each 6 sh.; Andrew Campbell, servant, 21 lib. 10 sh. fie, 10 sh. 10d.; Jennet Corss and Mary Auchincloss, servants, each 16 lib. fie, 8 sh. each, and 6 sh. each general pole, ...	£3	6	10
James Blackwood, weiver, 6 sh. trade, 6 sh. pole; Margaret Androw, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
John Parker, workman, and Jennet Scott, his spouse.			
William Auchincloss, weiver, 12 sh.; Jean Reid, 6 sh.; and his daughter Jennet, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
William Sclaitter, yr., 100 lib. val., 1 lib.; Margaret Adam, spouse, 6 sh.; James Orr, servant, 24 lib. fie, 12 sh.; Wm. Whyte, 21 lib. fie, 10 sh. 6d.; Margt. Johnstoun, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Jennet Robiesoune, 10 lib. fie, 5 sh.; William Kylle, herd, 5 merks fie, 1 sh. 8d.; and each genl. pole,	4	9	4
William Kylle, cotter, and Jean Sclaitter, his wife.			
Robert Sclaitter, in Meikleriggs.			
William Sclaitter, there, 55 merks val., 7 sh. 4d.; Helen Craig, spouse, 6 sh.; Arthour and Elspe, his sone and daughter, 6 sh. each, ...	1	11	4
John Landess, yr.			
Robert Cochran, in Ruchbank, 40 val.; Mareon Finlaysoune, his wife; Thomas Androw, 10 lib.; Jean Young, sert., 8 lib. fie; Wm. Pinkertoune, herd, 4 lib., ...	2	12	6
James Young, in Ruchbank, 40 lib.; Margaret Dein, wife; John Parkhill, servt., 12 lib.; Jonnet Robiesoune, sert., 8 lib. fie; Mareon Storrie, 10 merks fie, ...	2	16	8
Matthew Jamiesoune, in Riccartsbarr, 50 lib. val., 10 sh.; Jean Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; John Erstoune, servt., 13 lib. fie, 6 sh. 6d., ...	1	14	6
John Muire, in Riccatstone, his cottar, and Jennet Andersoune, his wife, each 6 sh.; Margt. Pattersoune, servt., 10 lib. fie, 5 sh., ...	1	3	0
James Peock, tennent in Riccartsbarr, 20 lib. val.; Janet Orr, his wife, ...	0	16	0

Alexander Muire, in Bughthills, weiver, 16 mks.; William, his sone, and Issobel, his daur.; James Robiesoune, herd, 3 lib. fie, ...	£1	7	8
James Muire, in Carridgehill, 40 merks val., 5 sh. 4d.; Margaret Cochran, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	17	4
Lodovick Stewart, yr., 16 lib. val., 3 sh. 2d.; Bessie Muire, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	15	4
Robert Cochrane, yr., 40 lib. val., 8 sh.; Mareon Finlaysoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas Androw, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Jean Young, servt., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Elspe Finlaysoune, 5 lib. in hervest, 2 sh. 6d., ...	2	9	6
William Renfrew, yr.			
James Young, yr., 40 lib. val., 8 sh.; Mertha Dean, spouse, 6 sh.; John Parkhill, servt., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.; Jennet Robiesoune, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Mareon Storrie, 20 merks fie, 6 sh. 8d.; Jennet Stevensoune, 7 merks in hervest, 2 sh. 4d., ...	3	6	0
Agnas Robertson, cottar, yr.			
John Craig, heretor in Nether Gallowhill, 40 lib. val., 1 lib. 6 sh.; Elspe Patoun, spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret Clerk, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Jennet Kirkwood, 4 lib. 13 sh. 4d. in hervest, 2 sh. 4d.,	2	8	4
John Jamiesoune, weiver, yr., 12 sh.; John and Jennet, his sone and daughter, each 6 sh., -	1	4	0
Robert Hoggert, yr., 40 lib. val., 14 sh.; Elspeth Rodger, his spouse, 6 sh.; Bessie Wallace, servant, 9 lib. fie, 4 sh. 6d., and general pole, 6 sh., ...	1	10	6
John Gibb, in Knavesland, weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Park, spouse, 6 sh.; James Park, prentice, 6 sh.; John Park, jorneyman, 12 sh., ...	1	16	0
Hugh Maxwell, of Braydieland and Merksworth, hereter, 130 lib. val., 4 lib. 6 sh.; Margaret Andersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet, his daughter, 6 sh.; David Sclatter, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Jannet Stevensoune, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; John Lindsay, herd, fie 4 lib., ...	6	13	10
John Cochrane, in Merksworth, 80 lib. val., 16 sh.; Bessie Whyte, his wife, 6 sh., and his daughter Elizabeth, 6 sh.; Allan Stewart, 24 lib. fie, 12 sh.;			

James Wilsoune, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Alexr. Park, herd, 2 sh. 8d., and 6 sh. each genl. pole; John Snodgrass, 8 lib. in hervest, 4 sh.; and Jennet Snodgrass, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh., ... £3 1 0

Robert Hendersoune, in Newhall, weiver, 46 lib. val., 1 lib, 6 sh.; Geills Hendersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet, his daughter, 6 sh.; Alexr. Hunter, herd, 4 lib. fie, 2 sh., ... 2 6 0

John Locke, in Collionsly, weiver, 12 sh.; Grissel Gillies, his wife, 6 sh.; James and Jean, children, each 6 sh., ... 1 10 0

Robert Adam, in Potterhill, tennent, 59 lib. val.; Jannet Hunter, his wife; John, Robert, and Margaret Adams, his bairns, ... 2 1 0

James Finlaysoune, weiver, his cottar; and Jean Cochran, his wife, ... 0 12 0

Matt. Sproull, tennent in Thornlie, yr., 40 lib. val., 1 lib. 6 sh.; Matthow, Andrew, Catherine, and Mareon, childrene, each 6 sh., ... 2 10 0

John Sproull, in Braehead of Thornlie, 43 val., 8 sh. 8d.; Bessie Androw, his wife, 6 sh.; James Robiesoune, servt., 21 lib. fie, 10 sh. 6d.; John Howie, 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; Elspe Hendersoune, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; and 6 sh. each, ... 3 4 8

Androw Arthour, in Thornliemuir, Mareon Erskine, his spouse, 12 sh.; Wm. Allane, servt., 10 lib. fie; Margaret Gemmell, servt., 20 mks., ... 1 5 8

David Polock, in Carriadgehill Snodgrass, 20 merks val., weiver, 12 sh.; Jean Jamiesoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Jennet Caskie, in Glen.

Alexr. Hunter, yr.

William Scott, weiver, yr., 20 merks val., 12 sh.; Jennet Pollock, spouse, 6 sh.; James Young and James Sclaitter, prentices, each 6 sh., ... 1 10 0

James Snodgrass, in Killcroft, 25 merks, 3 sh. 4d.; Margaret Dunloap, his wife, and Agnas, his daughter, each 6 sh., ... 1 1 0

John Adam, yr., 40 lib. val., 3 sh. 4d.; and Jennet Baird, his wife, 6 sh., ... 0 15 4

William Whyte.

John Maxwell, heretor in Meikleriggs, 98 lib. val., 4 lib. 6 sh.; Marion Alexr., spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet and Marion, his daughters, each 6 sh.; James Cochrane, servant, 24 lib. fie, 12 sh.; Jean Liggatt, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Jennet Miller, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Androw Faulds, herd, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh.; William Kuble, weiver, cottar, 12 sh.; Helen Finny, his wife, 6 sh. each; Cath. Wilsoune, 5 merks fie, 1 sh. 8d.; and 6 sh. for each servants gen. pole, ... £9 5 8

Matthow Androw, workman.

Robert Craig, weiver.

Jennet Gibb.

Margaret Robisoun.

John Andersoun.

John Faulds.

William Marshell, weiver, cotter in Meikleriggs, and Elspeth Patisoune, his spouse, who lives on charitie, and Jannet Pattisoune, his sister-in-law, also on charitie, as they are given up by the said John Maxwell, yr., master.

LORD ROSSE'S LANDS.

John Adam, in Dyckbarr, 45 lib. val., is of poll 11 sh. and 6 sh.; Robert and Catherine Adams, his childrene, each 6 sh.; Jennet Pinkertoune, servant, 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d., and poll 6 sh.; and Elizabeth Lock, herd, 30 sh. fie, 1 sh. 4d., and 6 sh.; Wm. Adam, his sone, and Grizzel Lock, his wife, each 6 sh., ... 2 19 10

Allan Clerk, in Dyckbarr, 26 lib. val., 5 sh. 6d., and 6 sh. pole; Mareon Smith, his wife, 6 sh.; Allan and Jennet Clark, his bairnes, each 6 sh., ... 1 9 4

David Gardiner, 28 lib. val., 5 sh. 8d.; Margt. Knock, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Mary Gardner, children, each 6 sh.; Jean Knock, her hervest fie 8 merks and ane half, 2 sh. 10d.,... 1 12 6

William Wilsoune, in Bankhead, 23 lib., 4 sh. 8d., and pole 6 sh.; Elspe Jamiesoune, his wife, 6 sh.; Agnas, Catherine, and John Wilsouns, children, 6 sh. each, ...	£1	14	8
James Cochran, in Hairlaws, 30 lib. val., 6 sh., gen. pole, 6 sh.; Jennet Pinkertoune, his wife, 6 sh.; Robert Cochrane, his sone, 6 sh.; and Jean Cochrane, her daughter, 6 sh.; George Airstoun, herd, 3 lib. fie, 1 sh. 6d.; James Cochrane, yor., his sone, and Agnes Kyle, his spouse, 12 sh., ...	2	9	6
William Reid Walker, at Halkheid Mylne, 20 lib.; Magt. Gibsone, spouse; Jannet Stevensoune and Jean Hendersoune, sevts., 14 lib. each; Rob. King, 24 lib., ...	3	1	0
William Fauls, meilman, 6 sh.; Rob. and Elspeth, children, 12 sh., ...	0	18	0
Arthoure Martine, cottar, and Agnas Martine, spouse, each 6 sh.; Grissel Dunloap, servt., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d., ...	1	5	6
William Mure, in Inglestoune, 21 lib. val., 4 sh.; Mareon Richie, spouse, 6 sh.; William Rowand, his oye, 6 sh.; Ursilla Dunloap, servt., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Margaret Clerk, cotter, 6 sh., ...	2	1	6
Androw Stewart, at Halkhead Mylne, 95 lib. val., 19 sh. 6d.; Elspeth Boyd, spouse, 6 sh.; Andrew Mitchell, servt., 16 lib. fie, 14 sh. pole; Margt. Ramsay, servt., 14 lib. fie, 13 sh.; Issobell Hamiltoune, servt., 15 mks. fie, 11 sh. 6d., ...	3	10	0
Thomas Young, his cottar, and Agnes Moodie, spouse,	0	12	0
John Dunlop, cottar, no trade; Marion Wallace, spouse,	0	12	0
Helen Knox, weidow, 28 lib. val., 5 sh. 8d.; John Tweddale servt., 16 lib. 13 sh. 4d. fie, 8 sh. 4d.; Helen Knox, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; John Wallace, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh., and 6d. each general pole, ...	2	15	0
Arthoure Martine, cottar, no trade, ...	0	6	0
Arthoure Martine, 60 lib. val., 12 sh.; Mareon Kuble, spouse, 6 sh.; Arthoure, his sone, 6 sh.; Catherine and Jennet, his sisters, each 6 sh.; William Snodgrass, servt., 21 lib. fie, 10 sh. 6d.; Mary Campbell, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh., ...	3	1	6

Jean Cunninghame, cottar, and Jean Androw, her daughter, ...	£0	12	0
William Dunloap, 25 lib. val., 5 sh., pole 6 sh.; Jean Bessle, his spouse, 6 sh.; Margaret Wallace, servt., 17 lib. fie, 8 sh. 6d.; Margaret Dunlop, cottar, 6 sh.; and Jennet Wardrop, her daughter, 6 sh., ...	2	3	6
Ninean Moodie, 30 lib. val., 6 sh.; Jennet Young, spouse, 6 sh.; John Langmuire, servt., 16 lib. fie, 14 sh.; Agnas Young, servant, 14 lib. 5 sh. fie, 7 sh. 2d., ...	2	5	6
Robert Muire, in Dyckbarr, 31 lib. val., 6 sh. 2d.; Mary Bruce, spouse, 6 sh.; Bessie Bruce, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; James Craig, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh.; Jennet Pettersoune, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh.,	1	19	4
William Cumine, in Townehead of Race, 9 lib. val., 1 sh.; Margt. Pirrhie, his wife, 6 sh.; and Jennet, his sister, 6 sh., ...	0	19	10
Robert Corss, in Woodhouse, weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Galbreath, spouse, 6 sh.; John Faulds, prentice, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
John Barr, in Nethertowne, 40 lib. val., 8 sh.; Grissell Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; George Young, servant, 4 lib. fie, 2 sh.; Agnas Barr, 6 lib. fie, 3 sh.; and Jennet Gillmour, 5 lib. hervest fie, 2 sh. 6d., ...	1	13	6
John Gillmour, collier, 6 sh.; Jennet Howie, spouse, and Jennet, his daur., each 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Allan Bouie, cottar, collier, 6 sh.; Jennet Luck, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
William Jamiesoune, collier, and Margt. Gemmell,...	0	12	0
William Bowie, in Wattersyde, collier, 6 sh.; Agnas Stewart, spouse, 6 sh.; and Agnas, his daur., 6 sh.,	0	18	0
Walter Faulds, in Dunterlie, collier, 6 sh.; Margaret Faulds, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Nathaniel Gilmoor.			
John Dunlop.			
Jennet Dunloap, in Raflas, 20 merks val., 2 sh. 8d.; Jennet Corss, her daur., 6 sh., ...	0	14	8
William Thomsoune, collier, and Marion Cochrane, spouse, ...	0	12	0

Hendrie Gibsoune, in Hollinbush, 36 lib. val., 7 sh. 2d.; Jean Arstoune, spouse, 6 sh.; James, his sone, 6 sh.; Jennet Wattsoune, sevt., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; John Fergoushill, cottar, 6 sh.; and Jennet Pinkertoune, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	£2	10	10
Thomas Craig, in Caplethill, 23 lib. val., 4 sh. 8d.; Jean Gibsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean Pinkertoune, servt., 14 merks fie, 4 sh. 8d., ...	1	7	4
John Corss, in Corssmylns, 53 lib. val., 10 sh. 8d.; Magt. Stewart, spouse, 6 sh.; Grissell Gray, servt., 20 merks fie, 6 sh. 8d.; Jennet Gillmour, 12 lib. fie, 6 sh.; Margt. Gibbe, in house, without fie, 6 sh.; William Giffine, wreight, cottar, 12 sh.; Margt. Hunter, spouse, 6 sh.; Robt. Lindsay, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh., ...	3	5	4
James Andrew, a cottar, 6 sh.; Margaret Hunter, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
John Taylior, in Foordmouth, 20 lib. val., 4 sh.; Jennet Kyle, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean Wilsoune, sert., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; Margt. Liggett, for hervest fie, 1 sh. 4d., ...	1	10	0
Alexr. Finlaysone, in Bridgebarr, 18 lib. val., 3 sh. 8d.; Bessie Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert, his sone, masone, 12 sh.; and James and Elspe, his oyr. sone and daur., each 6 sh., ...	1	19	6
John Renfrew, smith, 12 sh.; Jennet Wilsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; James, his brother, 12 sh.; Cath., his sister, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh.; and Alexr. Finlaysone, prentice, 6 sh., ...	2	6	0
William Auchincloss, in Hulret, 52 lib. val., 10 sh. 6d.; Helen Gillmour, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas, his fayr.; Arth. Young, sert., 18 lib. fie, 9 sh.; Jennet Cumine, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; John Faulds, for harvest fie, 3 sh. 4d., ...	3	0	0
James Broune, in Albar, 75 lib. val., 15 sh.; Margt. Barr, spouse, 6 sh.; John, his sone, 6 sh.; Jennet Finlaysone, his spouse, 6 sh.; William, his oyr. sone, 6 sh.; and Jean Bowie, Jean Campbell, and Margt. Smith, each 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh. each; and John Finlaysone, 10 merks hervest fie, 3 sh. 4d.,	2	17	4

William Arstoune, in Logan's Race, 52 lib. val., 10 sh. 6d.; Marion Craig, spouse, 6 sh.; John Auchincloss, sert., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.; Agnas Auchincloss and Agnas Young, each 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d. each; Issoball Johnstoune, herd, 6 lib. fie, 3 sh.; and 6 sh. each genll. poll, ...	£3	4	6
John M'Keonne, in Ruchmussle, 72 lib. val., 14 sh. 6d.; Eleza Clerk, spouse, 6 sh.; John Stewart, sert., 20 lib. fie, 16 shill,, ...	2	2	6
Jennet Liggett, in Blackbyre, 44 lib. val., 8 sh. 10d.; James Young, sert., 24 lib. fie, 12 sh.; Cath. Young, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; and Margt. Faulds, 1 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 7 sh. 2d.; and 6 sh. each genll. pole, ...	1	13	4
James Young, in Blackbyre, 6 sh.; Margt. Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Andrew Young, cottar, and his wife,...	0	12	0
John Faulds, cottar, 6 sh.; Jean Goudie, spouse, 6 sh.,	0	12	0
Andrew Young, cottar, yr.; Agnas Galbreath, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
John Faulds, cottar to Jo. Taylour, colier, 6 sh.; Jean Goudie, his spouse,...	0	12	0
James Young, yr., 22 lib. val., 4 sh. 6d.; Margt. and Catharine, his daurs., each 6 sh.; Thos. Young, his sone, 22 lib. val., 4 sh. 6d.; Margt. Craig, spouse to Thomas, 6 shill., ...	1	19	0
Robert Ross, chamberlain to Lord Ross, hereter, 100 and below 200 lib. val., 4 lib. 6 sh.; Elezabeth Achiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; George, Francis, and Agnas, childreine, each 6 sh.; Alexr. Dunloap, sert., 18 lib. fie, 9 sh.; Agnas Greir and Marion Crafoord, each 16 lib. fie, 8 sh. each, ...	7	13	0
William Good, gardiner to Lord Ross, 60 lib. fie, 1 lib. 10 sh.; Issoball Davidsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John, his sone, 6 sh.; John Smith and Allan Carswall, prentices, no fie; and his three daurs., 18 sh.,	3	12	0
David Wilkie, steward to Lord Ross, 48 lib. fie, 1 lib. 4 sh., ...	1	10	0
Andrew Towart, officer or porter to Lord Ross, 30 lib. fie, 15 sh.,...	1	1	0

William Weynas, 40 merks fie, 13 sh. 4d.; Margaret Abercrombie, spouse, 6 sh., ...	£1	5	4
Andrew Hamiltoune, wood-keeper, 50 merks fie, 16 sh. 8d.; Jennet Scott, spouse, 6 sh.; and Pattrick, his sone, 6 sh.,...	1	14	8
William Smith, officer, no fie, ...	0	6	0
Andrew Martine, sert., no fie, 6 sh., ...	0	6	0

NEUTOUNE'S LANDS.

Robert Stewart, in Mains of Neutoune, 71 lib. val., 14 sh. 2d.; Elspe Lochead, spouse, 6 sh.; George Liggett, sert., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.; Jean Faulds and Jennet Caldwall, each 6 lib. fie, 8 sh. each; Robert Hunter, herd, 5 lib. fie, 2 sh. 6d.; and 6 sh. each genl. pole, ...	3	18	6
James Alexr., weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Merschell, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
John Wintoune, cottar, yr., 6 sh.; Elez. Lochead, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
John Broune, yr., 5 lib. 17 sh. val., 1 sh. 2d.; Margt., his daur., 6 sh., ...	0	13	2
John Stewart, in Sclattes, 9 lib. 17 sh. val., 2 sh.; Marion Thomsoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	14	0
Alexr. Renfrew, yr., 7 lib. 17 sh. 8d. val., 1 sh. 8d.; Margt. Stewart, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	13	8
William Andersoune, in Neutoune, 7 lib. val., 1sh. 6d.; Elspeth Thomsoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	13	8
Robert Urie, tennent in Gateside, 7 lib. 18 sh. 9d. val., now in Brebloch, and Margt. Downie, his wife,	0	13	6

GREINLEES, AUCHLOADMONT.

Alexr. Gibsoune, yr., 55 merks val., 7 sh. 4d.; Agnas Erskine, spouse, 6 sh.; Alexr., Margt., and Jennet, children, each 6 sh.; James Garner, sert., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.,...	2	13	4
John Thomsoune, yr., 55 merks val., 7 sh. 4d.; Jennet Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Margt., childreine, each, ...	1	11	4
William Allasoune, weiver, cottar, 12 shill.; Isoball Snodgrass, spouse, 6 sh.,...	0	18	0

STEUART'S RACE.

William Stewart, in Holl, 5 lib. val., weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Gibb, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Pinkertoune, servt., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; James Lindsay, cottar, no trade, 6 sh.; Agnas Holme, 6 sh., ...	£2	4	0
James Gibb, in Stepends, weiver, 12 sh.; Issoball Steinsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; James Gib., yor., mert., his sone, worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Issoball Steinsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Issoball Barr, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Jean Lock, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.,...	5	6	0
Jennet Aldcome, cottar, 6 sh.; John Finlaysone, her sone, weiver, 12 sh., ...	0	18	0
James Erstoune, yr., 53 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 10 sh. 8d.; Elizabeth Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; James Erstoune, his sone, 6 sh.; Agnas Lindsay, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; William Wayllie, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh.; Alexr. Finlaysone, at alter, 4 sh.; Jennet Biggert, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh., ...	2	3	8

STAINLIE LANDS.

James Storrie, in Overmains, 43 lib. val., 8 sh. 8d.; Jennet Kuble, his spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet and Margt., childreine, each 6 sh., ...	1	12	8
James Craig, in Almochrie, 14 lib. val., 2 sh. 10d.; Agnas Biggert, spouse, 6 sh.; Mary Ure, 4 lib. hervest fie, 2 shill., ...	0	16	10
Jennet Caldwall, in Casiend, widow, the 3d pt. of her husband, James Adam's pole, being heretor, val. 50 lib., 1 lib. 6 sh. 8d., and genal. pole, 6 sh.; Robt. Adam, her sone, heretor, 50 lib. val., 4 lib. 6 sh.; Jean Adam, daughter, 6 sh., ...	6	4	8
Gavin Carswall, in Holehouse, 30 lib. val., mert., worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Margt. Nivine, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Jennet, childreine, each 6 sh.; Issoball King, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.,	4	6	0
Robert Carswall, in Muiredycks, 30 lib. val., 6 sh.; Jennet Greinlees, spouse, 6 sh.; John and George, childreine, each 6 sh.; Jean Peock, servant, 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d., ...	2	3	6

John Hunter, in Crossbarr, 48 lib. val., 9 sh. 8d.; Jennet Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; Adam Mure, sert., 24 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	£2	0	8
John Craig, myllner, in Stanlie, 42 lib. val., 8sh. 6d.; Jennet Finlaysone, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean and Agnas, childreine, each 6 sh.; Robert Craig, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.,...	2	5	8
Allan Love, smith, 8 lib. val., 12 sh.; Jennet Hendersoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Agnas Lock, Agnas Muire, and Margt. Storrie, servants, 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d. each, and 6 sh. each geall. pole, ...	2	8	6
Robert King, in Crossbarr, 10 lib. val., 2 sh.; Margt. Steinsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John King, his sone, 20 lib. val., 4 sh.; Margaret King, spouse, 6 sh.,	1	8	0
James Wark, yr., 22 lib. val., 4 sh. 6d.; Jennet Storie, spouse, 6 sh.; and Elspe Storrie, sert., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ...	1	8	6
Alexr. Lee, in Stainlie Green, 52 lib. 10 sh. 8d.; Jennet Adam, spouse, 6 sh.; James and Jennet, childreine, each 6 sh., ...	1	14	6
James Orr, in Brae, weiver, 12 sh.; Agnas Cumine, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
John Stewart, in Darrochstock, 28 lib. val., 5 sh. 8d.; Catharine Howie, spouse, 6 sh.; Mary Greenlees, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 shill., ...	1	9	8
Thomas King, weiver, cottar, in Casaend, 5 lib. val., 12 sh.; James King, prentice, 6 sh.; and Elspe, his daur., 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
John Eweing, cottar, weiver, 12 sh.; and James, his brother, 12 shill.,...	1	4	0
William Whyte, in Wester Foxbar, 15 lib. val., 3 sh.; and Jennet Adam, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	15	0
John Stevinsoune, in Busses, 26 lib. val., 5 sh. 2d.; Margt. Wayllie, his mother, 6 sh.; Jennet, his sister, 6 sh.; Mareon Robiesoune, for hervest fie, 2 shill. 8d., ...	1	6	0
Jennet Craig, weidow, in Foxbar, 11 lib. 10 sh. val., 2 sh. 4d., ...	0	8	4
William Cochrane, in Braehead, 18 lib. val., 3 sh. 8d.; Catharine Adam, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	15	8

Nathaniel Andersoune, workman, 6 sh.; Helen Stevinsoune, spouse, 6 sh., ...	£0	12	0
John Andersoune, in Nethercraigends, 18 lib. val., 3 sh. 8d.; John, Jennet, and Helen, his childreine, each 6 sh., ...	1	7	8
John Baird, in Wester Foxbar, 11 lib. 10 sh. val., 2 sh. 4d.; Elspe Craig, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	14	4
John Greinlees, yr., 10 lib. val., 2 sh.; Margt. Whyte, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	14	0
John Muire, in Holl, 15 lib. val., 3 sh.; Margt. Richie, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	15	0
Gavin Richie, in Holl, 15 lib. val., 3 sh.; Mareon Sclaiter, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	15	0
Robert Orr, in Stonliemuire, 32 lib. val., 6 sh. 6d.; Elspe Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; James and Jennet, his childreine, each 6 sh.; Robert Craig, 7 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh. 6d., ...	1	14	0
John Storie, in Dourmonthall, 22 lib. val., 4 sh. 6d.; John and Elspe Storries, childreine, each 6 sh.,	1	2	6
John Pirrhie, in Busses, 26 lib. val., 5 sh. 2d.; Marion Carswall, spouse, 6 sh.; Michaell Stewart, cotter, 6 sh., no trade; Jennet Pettersoune, spouse, 6 sh.,	1	0	6
Thomas King, in Hillock, 12 lib. val., 2 sh. 6d.; Margt. Kylle, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	14	6
William Gemmell, in Stonlie, 15 lib. val., 3 sh.; Jennet Waylie, spouse, ...	0	15	0
James Robiesoune, in Craigs, 23 lib. val., 4 sh. 8d.; Margt., Jean, and Jennet, his sisters, each 6 sh.,	1	8	8
Robert Galbreath, in Loganstoune, 6 lib. val., 1 sh. 2d.; Agnas Renfrew, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	13	2
Margt. Carswall, in Blackland Myllne, 19 lib. val., 3 sh. 10d.; Jennet Craig, her daur., 6 sh., ...	0	15	4
John Carswall, in Lumbsdeale, mert., worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Jean Orr, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean, Agnas, and Jennet, his daurs., each 6 sh.; Bessie Orr, sert., 4 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 2 sh. 2d.; John Finnie, sert., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.; and John Storie, herd, 4 lib. fie, 2 sh., and 6 sh. each, geald. pole, ...	5	2	2
James Pollock, weiver, cotter in Foxbar, ...	0	12	0

LANDS OF AUCHLOADMONT SEMPLE.

John Semple, heretor, yr., 53 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 4 lib. 6 sh.; and Annable Hervie, spouse, 6 sh.; Francis, Annable, and Grissell, his childreine, each 6 sh., ...	£5	10	0
James Lees, yr., 40 merks val., 5 sh. 8d.; Jennet Love, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Agnas, his childreine, each 6 sh., ...	1	9	8
John Carswall, yr., 40 merks val., 5 sh. 4d.; Jennet Kuble, spouse, 6 sh.; Margt. Caldwall, sert., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh.,...	1	9	8

COCHRANE LAND.

William Pattiesoune, in Craigenfeoch, 40 merks val., 5 sh. 8d.; Margt. Gibsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Cat. Gibsoune, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh.; Robt. Gairner, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh., ...	1	4	8
James Orr, fewar in Highcraig, 25 lib. val., 1 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet Baird, spouse, 6 sh., ...	1	12	0
Robert Baird, fewar, yr., 25 lib. val., 1 lib. 6 sh.; Jennet Lochead, spouse, 6 sh., ...	1	12	0
Robert Caldwall, tennent, yr., 25 mks. val., 3 sh. 4d.; Jean Orr, spouse, 6 sh.; and Andrew Craig, herd, 2 merks and a half fie, 1 sh. 2d.; and Agnas Pattiesoune, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh., ...	1	5	6
William Robiesoune, in Makin's Myllne, 40 merks val., 3 sh. 8d.; Agnas Merschell, spouse, 6 sh.,	0	18	8
James Andrew, thatcher, in Windiehill, 12 sh.; Jennet Carswall, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Robert Andrew, weiver, in Broomknows, 12 shill.; Bessie Carswall, spouse, 6 sh.; Anna Parkhill, sert., 7 lib. fie, 3 sh. 6d., ...	1	7	6
John Orr, in Highcraig, feuar, 30 lib. val., 1 lib. 6 sh.; Elizabeth How, spouse, 6 sh., ...	1	12	0
John Orr, his sone, 30 lib. val., 6 sh.; Margt. Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Lang, 4 lib. 13 sh. 4d. hervest fie, 2 sh. 4d.; Issoball Boyd, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh., ...	1	0	4

John Cochrane, in Damsyde, 42 lib. val., 8 sh. 6d.; Margt. Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Hugh, his sone, 6 sh.; Issoball Reid, serd., 20 mks. fie, 6 sh. 8d.; and Agnas, his daur., 6 sh.; and Alex. Hair, ole hervest fie, 3 sh..	£2	8	2
William Cochrane, in Sandieflett, 50 mks. val., 6 sh. 8d.; Agnas Cumine, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Elspe, childreine, each 6 shill., ...	1	16	8
William Robiesoune, in Cochran Myllne, 30 lib. val., 6 sh.; Margt. Swane, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas and Mary Robiesounes, childreine, each 6 sh., ...	1	10	0
John Robisoun, in Habsland, 9 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val.; Euphan Henderson, his spouse,...	0	13	8
Robert Tarbert, yr., 8 lib. 6 sh. 8d.			
John Dick, in Bangshehall or Gatesyde, 10 lib. val., 12 sh.; Marion Baverage, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	14	0
Wm. Campbell, in Darneft, 10 mks. val.			
James Wilsoune, in Meikleboge, 18 lib. 13 sh. 4d. val., 3 sh. 10d.; Jennet Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; William Cochrane, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh., ...	0	19	10
Thomas Bogg, in Craigmuire, 6 sh.; Jennet Lockert, spouse, 6 sh.; Margt., his daur., 6 sh.; Jennet Rodger and Jennet Moriesoune, each 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh. each, ...	1	4	0
Ja. Andrew, yr., 53 lib. 6 sh. 8d.			
John Reid, weiver, in Benstoune, 20 merks val., 12 sh.; Issoball Alexr., spouse, 6 sh.; Hugh Merschell, prentice, 6 sh., ...	1	4	0
Robert Caldwall, in Boog, 30 lib. val., 12 sh.; Issoball Orr, spouse, 6 sh.; John, William, and Margt., childreine, each 6 sh., ...	1	16	0
Andrew Robiesoune, in Craigenfeoch, 25 lib. val., 5 sh.; Jennet Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Hendersoune, 4 lib. hervest fie, 2 sh.; Wm. Cochrane, herd, 5 lib. fie, 2 sh. 6d., ...	1	6	4
William Greinlees, weiver, 40 mks. val., 12 shill.; David, his brother, 6 sh.; and James and Thomas, his brethreine, 12 sh.; Elezabeth Stewart, servant, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., ...	2	0	0

David Barbour, in Craigtoune, 50 merks val., 6 sh. 8d.; Agnas Jamiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Agnas, David, and Margt., childreine, each 6 sh., ... £1 16 8

John Campbell, yr., 25 merks val., 3 sh. 4d.; Elspe Hendrie, spouse, 6 sh.; Mary Clerk, sert., 10 lib. fie, 5 shill.; Jennet Clerk, 5 lib fie, 2 sh. 6d.,... 1 14 0

THE LANDS OF WOODSYDE.

Thomas Andersoune, masone, 8 lib. val., 12 sh.; Margt. Giffine, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

James Lillie, weiver, 12 sh.; Isso. Hamiltoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Samuele, his sone, weiver, 12 sh.; Anna Scott, spouse, 6 sh., ... 1 16 0

William Pollock, potter, 8 lib. 10 sh. val., 12 shill.; Anna King, spouse, 6 sh.; John Watt, servant, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh., ... 1 12 0

Robert Sempil, weiver there, 12 sh.; Jennet Clarin, his wife, 6 sh.; Jo. Greenlees, prentice, 6 sh.,... 1 4 0

THE LANDS OF BARDREIN.

Francis Merschell, in Muir of Bardrein, 37 lib. val., 7 sh. 6d.; Cat. Houstoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John, Margt. and Elez., childreine, each 6 sh.; John Barr, sert., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; Mary Polleick, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Agnas Cochrane, 10 merks hervest fie, 3 sh. 4d.; Isso. Guile, 10 mks. hervest fie, 3 sh. 4d.; and Margt. Houstoune, cotter, 6 sh., ... 3 11 8

John Snodgrass, in Bardrein, 20 merks val., 3 sh. 4d.; Marion Barr, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 15 4

Alexr. Lochead, in Bridgend, 7 mks. val., weiver, 12 shilling; Jennet Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh., 0 18 0

Wm. Barbour, in Hie Dyck, 20 lib. val., 4 sh.; in Hydykes, Elspe Gibsoune, his spouse, ... 0 16 0

Margt. Barbour, weidow, and Margt. Hendersoune, her daur., ... 0 12 0

John Finnie, in Leitchland, 50 lib. val., 10 sh.; Jennet and Jean, his daurs., each 6 sh., ... 1 8 0

NEULAND CRAIGS.

Robert Carswell, tennent, yr., 25 lib. val., 5 sh.; Margt. Lata, spouse, 6 sh.; Ann Langmuire, sert., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; and Jean, his sister, 6 sh., ... £1 16 6

THE LANDS OF DARNLY.

John Jamiesoune, weiver, in Greenend Bridge, 21 lib. 7 sh. val., 12 sh.; Agnas Barbour, spouse, 6 sh.; William Barbour, Matthew Polleick, and Wm. Finlay, jorneymen, each 12 shill.; Elspe Glen, sert., 14 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 7 sh. 2d., ... 3 7 2

William Kirkwood, yr., 50 merks val., 6 sh. 8d.; Agnas Biggert, spouse, 6 sh.; Wm. and Jean, his brother and sister, 12 sh., ... 1 10 8

John Scott, cottar, weiver, yr., 6 sh. val., 6 sh. pole; Jennet Jamison, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

William Stewart, in Broadcroft, weiver, 24 lib. val., 12 sh.; Elspe Thomsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; John and William, his sones, each 6 sh.; Jean, his daur., 6 sh.; Elspe Jamiesoune, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; George Polleick, jorneyman, 12 sh., ... 3 2 0

James Scott, yr., weiver, 4 lib. val., 12 sh.; Jennet Brounsyde, spouse, 6 sh.; Elspe Scott, his daur., 6 sh.; Andro Lock, jorneyman, 12 sh.; John Miller, prentice, 6 sh., ... 2 2 0

William Auchincloss, yr., 10 mks. val., 1 sh. 4d.; Jennet Pinkertoune, spouse, 6 shill., ... 0 13 4

Alexr. Keyll, in Nethertoune, 61 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 12 sh. 4d.; Elspe Robiesoune, spouse, 6 sh.; Sara Smith, servant, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; John Maxwell, sert., 17 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 8 sh. 8d., ... 2 13 0

Agnes Porterfield, in Porterfields, Greenend, 50 mks.; William and Jean Kirkwoods, her bairns; Agnes Biggart, servt., 4 lib. fie,... 1 12 0

Allan Jamiesoune, weiver, cotter, 12 sh.; Jean Kirkwood, his mother, 6 sh.; Alexr. Jamiesoune, prentice, 6 sh.; Jean, his daur., 6 sh.; John

Jamiesoune, cotter, weiver, 12 sh.; Margt. Gibb, spouse, 6 sh., ...	£2	8	0
James Gibb, in Dormontsyde, 28 lib. val., mealman, 12 sh.; Agnas Taylior, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet and Helen, his daurs., each 6 shill., ...	1	10	0
William Kylle, yr., 44 lib. val., 8 sh. 10d.; Margt. Finlay, spouse, 6 sh., and his daur., Margt., 6 sh.; William Auchincloss, servt., 20 merks fie, 12 sh. 8d., ...	1	19	4
John Kylle, yr., 22 lib. 10 sh. val., 4 sh. 6d.; Catharine Kylle, spouse, 6 sh.; Elspe Cumine, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Wm. Baird, servant, 7 lib. fie, 3 sh. 6d., ...	2	6	0
John Mertine, yr., 22 lib. val., 4 sh. 6d.; Jennet Kylle, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean Hair, sert., without fie, 6 sh.,	1	2	6
John Kylle, in Templehouse, weiver, 12 shill.; Margt. Glen, spouse, 6 sh.; Matthew, his sone, 6 sh., and Agnas Glen, his good-sister, 6 sh.,... ...	1	10	0
Thomas Biggert, in Greinsydehauch, 100 merks val., 13 sh. 4d.; Jean, his daur., 6 sh.; Elspe Hair, servant, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh., and 6 sh. geall. pole, ...	1	15	4
John Lock, in Auld Cruickstoune, 100 merks val., 13 sh. 4d.; Jennet Miller, spouse, 6 sh.; John, Georgé, Christian, and Agnas, childreine, each 6 sh.; John Robiesoune, herd, 5 lib. 15 sh. fie, 3 sh.; Jennet M'Lintoch, sert., 10 mks. fie, 3 sh. 4d.; Anna Robiesoune, Sara M'Nair, and Christian Leitch, each 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh. each,...	3	16	8
Robert Thomson, cottar, weiver in Auld Cruickston, and Issobell Robiesoune, wife, ...	0	18	0
Daniel Monro, masone in Kamescange, 11 lib. val., 12 sh.; Margt. Clerk, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Murray, her mother, 6 sh.; Ann Crafoord, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; John Auchincloss, masone, workman, 12 shill., ...	2	10	0
William Wilsoune, weiver in Kaimsthorn, 11 lib. val., 12 shilling; Christian Taylior, spouse, 6 sh.; James Darleith, prentice, 6 sh.,...	1	4	0
Jo. Ferguson, in Greensidhaugh.			
Robert Cumine, cotter, and Margt. Thomsoune, spouse,	0	12	0
Charles Stewart, tayliour.			

THE LANDS OF CARDONALD.

Allan Stewart, in Cardonald, 200 merks val., 1 lib. 6 sh. 8d.; Jennet Barr, his spouse, 6 sh.; Allan, William, James, Jennet, Agnas, Anna, and Margt., childreine, each 6 shill.; Donald Lamont, sert., 19 lib. fie, 9 sh. 6d.; Annable Langmure, cotter, 6 sh.; and Jennet Langmure, her daur., 6 sh.; Jennet Barr, cotter, 6 sh.; James Stewart, 11 merks hervest fie, 3 sh. 8d.; Jennet Auchincloss and Elspe Snodgrass, each 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh. each; and Christian Reid and Jean Kerr, each 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 shill. each, ...	£6	9	10
John Howie, 100 merks val., 13 sh. 4d.; Jean Caldwell, spouse, 6 sh.; John Urie, sert., 18 lib. fie, 9 sh.; Issoball Young, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh.; and John Pinkertoune, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh.,	2	7	4
John Jamiesoune, in Henderstoune, 110 mks. val., 14 sh.; Jennet Biggert, spouse, 6 sh.; John Andrew, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Elspe Neill, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh.; John Greenlees, 4 lib. in hervest, 2 sh.; Margt. Biggert, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh.; and Jean Ure, 8 mks. and a half, 2 sh. 10d.,	2	9	10
Robert Patoune, in Cardonald, 100 merks val., 13 sh. 4d.; Jean Semple, spouse, 6 sh.; Helen, his daur., 6 sh.; Wm. Greinlees, servant, 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.; James Finnie, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh.; and Jean Murray, 8 mks. and a half, 2 sh. 10d.,	2	4	2
Wm. Cummin, workman.			
Alexr. Miller, 80 lib. val., 16 sh.; Jennet Biggert, his moyr., 6 sh.; Jennet and Margt., his sisters, each 6 sh., ...	2	0	0
David Neilsoune, cotter, and Helen Glen, spouse, ...	0	12	0
James Langmuire, in Henderstoune, 53 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 10 sh. 8d., and 6 sh. gen. pole; Elspe Galbraith, spouse, 6 sh.; Marion Waterstoun, moyr., 6 sh., ...	1	8	8
Allan Langmuire, in Henderstoune, 6 lib. val., 12 sh.; and his sister Jean, 6 sh.; James Donaldsoune, 10 lib. in hervest, 5 sh.; Jennet M'Farland, 7 lib. in hervest, 3 sh. 6d.; Jennet Muirehead, 10 merks			

hervest fie, 3 sh. 4d.; Jennet ——, 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh.; Agnas Donalsoune, 7 lib. 6 sh. 8d. fie, 3 sh. 8d., ...	£3	10	10
William Muire, yr., 50 lib. val., 10 sh.; Margt. Richie, spouse, 6 sh.; James Ross, sert., 18 lib, fie, 9 sh.; Helen Richie, sert., 12 lib. fie, 6 sh.; Jennet Boyd, 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh.; and Elspe Kylle, 5 mks. hervest fie, 1 sh. 8d., ...	2	0	8
John Biggert, yr., 50 lib. val., 10 sh.; Elez. Killoch, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Ross, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh.; Margt. Finlaysoune, 6 lib. 6 sh. 8d. hervest fie, 3 sh. 2d.; Elspe Arthour, 6 lib. 6 sh. 8d. hervest fie, 3 sh. 2d.; Robt. Biggert, cotter, weiver, 12 sh.; Isso. Leishman, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Ross, jorneyman, 12 sh., ...	3	2	6
Alexr. Jamiesoune, yr., 50 lib. val., 10 sh.; Agnas Kuble, spouse, 6 sh.; Catharine Stevinsoune, sert., 20 mks. fie, 6 sh. 8d.; Eupham Whyte, 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh.; Jennet Kylle, 5 lib. hervest fie, 2 sh. 6d., ...	2	0	2
John Smith, yr., 93 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 18 sh. 8d.; Elspe White, spouse, 6 sh.; William Cochrane, sert., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.; Duncan Allan, 7 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh. 6d.; Elizabeth Snodgrass, 7 lib. in hervest, 3 sh. 6d.; and Jennet Snodgrass, 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh.; Agnas Auchincloss, cotter, 3 lib. in hervest, 2 sh. 6d., and 6 sh. geall. pole,	2	18	10
Elspe Richie, cotter, ...	0	6	0
William Finlay, 65 lib. val., 13 sh.; Catharine Curry, spouse, 6 sh.; Andrew Coats, sert., 19 lib. fie, 9 sh. 6d., and 6 sh. geall. pole; Matthew Glen, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh.; Jennet Curry, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh.; and Anna Neill, 4 lib. hervest fie, 2 shill., ...	2	9	0
Robert Jamiesoune, yr., 100 merks val., 13 sh. 4d.; Christian Hart, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Ninian Andersoune, his nevoy, 6 sh.; John Stewart, 10 merks hervest fie, 3 sh. 4d.; Jennet Miller and Jennet Davidsoune, each 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh. each, ...	2	18	6

James Auchencloss, yr., 20 merks val., 12 sh. trade and pole; Margt. Shaw, spouse, 6 sh.; John Finlay, prentice, 6 sh., ... £1 4 0

Thomas Hart, coal carier, 20 mks. val.

John Graehame, masone, 20 mks. val., 12 sh.; Margt. Arbuckle, spouse, 6 sh.; James Grahame, prentice, 6 shill., ... 1 4 0

Robt. Biggart, in Henderstoun.

THE LANDS OF FULLBAR.

Robert Spreul, yr., 93 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 18 sh. 8d.; Marion Heill, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Lochead, servant, 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; Margt. Pirrhie, sert., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; Jennet Galbreath, Jean Forrest, and Cath. Ross, each 10 merks hervest fie, 3 sh. 4d. each; John Cochrane, herd, 4 lib. fie, 2 sh., and 6 sh. pole, ... 3 5 4

Thomas King, weiver, cottar, 12 sh.; Isso. Howie, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Walter Langmuir, 20 mks. val., 3 sh. 4d.; Jennet Patoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 15 4

Matthow Androw, in Coblebarr, 20 mks.; Jannet Dinsmuire, wife, ... 0 14 8

Robert Andrew, in Coblebarr, 40 mks. val., 5 sh. 4d.; Mary Wodrow, spouse, 6 sh.; Matthew, his brother, 6 sh.; Jennet Dinsmuire, spouse, 6 sh.; Jean Adam, 8 merks hervest fie, 2 sh. 8d., and 2 sh. for the val. in Foxbarr, ... 1 14 0

John Cochrane, in Serjanlaw, 40 mks., unmarried, lives with his mother, Jennat Smith, and Wm. and Jannet, his brother and sister; John Broune, fie 8 merks and a half, ... 1 12 0

THE LANDS OF QUARRELLTOUNE.

Margaret Wallace, weidow, in Cartsyde, 80 lib. val., 16 sh.; James and William Wilsounes, her sones, each 6 sh.; Jennet Wilsoune, sert., 10 lib. fie, 5 sh.; Mary Barr, sert., 9 lib. fie, 4 sh. 6d.; John

Tevindale, servt., 6 lib. fie, 3 sh., and 6 sh. each geall. pole; Jean Wilsone, her daughter, 6 sh.; and Jennet Thomsoune, 8 mks. hervest fie, 2 sh. 8d., ...	£3	3	2
John Fleeming, in Hag, 42 lib. 13 sh. 4d. val., 8 sh. 8d., and 6 sh. geall.; Margt. Simpson, servt., 11 lib. 5 sh. 6d.; Wm. Load, hervest fie 6 lib., 3 sh.; Margt. Fleeming, hervest fie 5 lib., 2 sh., and 6 sh., ...	1	11	8
Allexr. Mathie, in Hag, 10 lib. val., weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Achinlosse, spouse, 6 sh.; Allexr. Hair, prentice, 6 sh.; Jennet Robisoun, servt., 11 lib., 5 sh. 6d., ...	1	15	6
Allexr. Marshal, cottar, ordinar worker, 6 sh.; Marion Dick, his wife, 6 sh.; Jen. Stewart, servt., 6 lib., 3 sh., and 6 sh. geall. pole, ...	1	1	0
Robert Hall, in Cartsyde, 50 mks. val., merchant, worth 500 mks., 2 lib. 16 sh.; Agnas Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Hall, younger, Anna, and Marie, childreine, each 6 sh.; Mary Grey, servt., 12 lib. fie, 6 sh., ...	4	12	0
John Barbour, 22 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 4 sh. 8d., taylour, 12 sh. for trade and pole; Jo. Barbour, his sone; Jennet Love, hervest fie 4 lib., 2 sh., ...	1	0	0
John Andersoun, miller, 40 merks val., 5 sh. 4d.; Margt. Orr, spouse, 6 sh.; Robert Andersoun, son, 6 sh.,...	1	1	4
James Mathie, in Peockland, 20 mks. val., 3 sh. 4d., and 6 sh. gen. pole; Marion Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.,	0	15	4
Margt. Wilsoun, in Hilhead, 24 lib., 5 sh.; Ja. Aikin, her sone, 6 sh., ...	0	17	0
Wm. Wallace, yr., 36 lib. val., 7 sh. 2d., and 6 sh. pole; Elspe Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; Jen., his daughter, 6 sh., ...	1	5	2
John Corse, Bronockshill, 41 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 8 sh. 4d., and 6 sh. geall. pole; Margt. Miller, spouse, 6 sh.; Mary Miller, sert., 12 lib. fie, 6 sh., ...	1	12	4
Issobell Rid, cottar.			
John Wallace, in Greenend, 40 lib. val., 8 sh.; Margt. Smith, his spouse, 6 sh.,...	1	0	0

James Peock, yr., 40 lib. val., 8 sh., and 6 sh. pole; Margt. Cummine, his spouse, 6 sh., ... £1 0 0

James Marshal, in Peockland, 20 mks. val., 3 sh. 4d.; Jen. Somervail, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 15 4

James Rodger, in Cartsida, 33 lib. val., 6 sh. 8d., and 6 sh. pole; Jen. Black, spouse, 6 sh.; Anna Dick, 4 lib. hervest fie, 2 sh., ... 1 0 8

Marion King, in Quareltoun.

NEUWARKS, CADRENS.

John Stewart, 53 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 10 sh. 8d.; Anna Robisoun, spouse, 6 sh.; Ja. Steuart, his sone, 6 sh.; Agnas Brock, 11 lib. fie, 5 sh. 6d., ... 2 0 2

William Steuart, yr., 80 lib. val.; Bessie Lindsay, his wife, ... 1 2 8

John Sclaiter, 20 mks. val., 3 sh. 4d., 6 sh. trade and 6 sh. pole; Elspe Wodrow, spouse; Elez. Hunter, servt., 14 lib., 7 sh., ... 1 11 0

Robert Wallace, 40 mks. val., 5 sh. 4d.; Elspe Wallace, spouse, 6 sh.; Ja. Wallace, sone, 6 sh., ... 1 3 4

John Wodrow, taylour, 12 sh. trade and pole; Chr. M'Rae, his wife, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

John Wallass.

Robert Hodsyaird, taylour, cottar, 12 sh.; Catherine Wilsoun, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

John Allexr., tennent, 40 mks. val., 5 sh. 4d.; Margt. Grahame, his spouse, 6 sh.; Ja. Allexr., his sone, 6 sh.; Marion Gariner, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., ... 1 16 4

THE LANDS OF RALSTOUNE.

John Muire, in Auldtoune, 96 lib. val., 19 sh. 4d.; Issoball Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; William, John, and James, his sones, each 6 sh.; Issoball Muire, his daur., 6 sh.; John King, herd, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh.; William Rodger, 8 lib. 13 sh. 4d. fie in hervest, 4 sh. 4d.; Ro. Pow, 10 mks. in hervest, 3 sh. 4d.; Isso. Wreight, 10 merks hervest fie, 3 sh. 4d.;

Issoball Liggett, 6 lib. harvest fie, 3 sh., and Jennet Greinlees, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh., ...	£4	2	10
Thomas Cochrane, workman in Littlemealing, and Jennet Liggett, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	12	0
Alexr. Syme, weiver in Braehead, 12 sh.; Catherine Wallace, spouse, 6 sh.; John Lock, jorneyman, 12 sh., ...	1	10	0
John Ralstoun, tennent in Barshaw, 25 lib. val., 11 sh.; Margaret Robiesoun, his spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	17	0
William Gibb, weiver in Whytehaugh, 12 sh.; Bessie Young, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	18	0
Marion Gemmell, 16 lib. 10 sh. val., 3 sh. 4d.; Agnas and Elezabeth Robiesounes, her daurs., each 6 sh.; William Kuble, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh.,...	1	4	4
Alexr. Hardie, in Byres, 28 lib. val., 5 sh. 8d.; Lillias Stewart, spouse, 6 sh.; and Margaret, his sister, 6 sh., ...	1	3	8
Pattrick Ralstoune, 50 lib. val., 10 sh.; Catharine Young, spouse, 6 sh.; John and Margt., childreine, each 6 sh.; Jennet Ralstoune and Mary Pattiesoune, each 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh. each,	2	0	0
Gavin Ralstoune, in Hinniboge, 12 lib. val., 2 sh. 6d.; Jennet Love, spouse, 6 sh.; William, Mary, Elspe, Jennet, and Char., childreine, each 6 sh., ...	2	4	6
Francis Hodgerd, in Peddenlie, 13 lib. val., 2 sh. 8d.; Marion Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; and Issoball, his daur., 6 sh., ...	1	0	8
James Galbreath, in Sandiehole, 8 lib. val.; Jennet Adam, spouse, and Grissell, his daur., ...	0	19	8
James Martine, in Rylees, 12 lib. val., 2 sh. 6d.; Margt., his daur.,...	0	14	6
John Ralstoune, in Old Hall, 40 lib. 2 sh. 6d. val., 9 sh. 8d.; Margt. Cumine, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet, Gavin, and Elezabeth, children, each 6 sh.; James Hardie, with him in house, 6 sh., and haveing 8 lib. fie in hervest, 3 sh.; Agnas Robiesoune, sert., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; Margt. Wilsoune, Issoball Wayllie, and Helen Hendrie, each 6 lib. in hervest, 3 sh. each, ...	2	18	8

James Kuble, in Oldhall, heretor, 20 lib. val., 1 lib. 6 sh.; James and Elspe, childreine, each 6 sh.; Jennet Dinsmuire, sert., 12 lib. 13 sh. 4d. fie, 12 sh. 4d.; Agnas Calwall, 7 merks hervest fie, 2 sh. 4d., ... £2 13 0

THE LANDS OF HARTFIELD.

Thomas Stevinsoune, yr., 23 lib. val., 4 sh. 8d.; Marg. Howie, spouse, 6 sh.; Samuell Arnot, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; William Biggart, 8 lib. hervest fie, 4 sh.; and Margt. Dunloap, 7 merks in hervest, 2 sh. 4d., ... 1 17 4

Wm. Biggart, cottar, yr., and his spouse.

Isobell Nivin, poor.

John Young, yr., 23 lib. val., 4 sh. 8d.; Jennet Craig, spouse, 6 sh.; and Hugh Young, sert., 20 lib. fie, 10 sh., ... 1 12 8

Jo. Wilsoun, cottar.

Alexr. Kerr, in Hartfield, 23 lib. val., 4 sh. 8d.; Jean Dinsmuire, spouse, 6 sh.; Hugh Fergushill, 20 lib. fie, 10 sh.; Mertha Hunter, sert., 15 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d.; and Jean Glen, 8 mks. in hervest, 2 sh. 8d., 2 7 0

William Inglice, cotter, 12 sh.; Marion Connel, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

James Robiesoune, yr., 23 lib. val., 4 sh. 8d.; Jennet Steick, spouse, 6 sh.; his sone John, 6 sh.; John Barr, herd, 10 mks. fie, 3 sh. 4d.; Margt. Young, 8 merks hervest fie, 2 sh. 8d., ... 1 14 8

William Robiesoune, yr., ... 0 6 0

THE LANDS OF ELDERSLIE.

William Hamiltoune, in Stepends, 48 lib. val., 9 sh. 8d.; James Johnstoune, sert., 18 lib. fie, 9 sh.; Elezabeth Andersoune, sert., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh.; Jennet Walker, servant, no fie, 6 sh. 2 8 6

John Andersoune, 10 lib. val., weiver, 12 sh.; Elspe King, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas Andersoune, jorneyman, 12 sh.; Robert Carswall, prentice, 6 sh., 1 16 0

James Smith, 6 lib. 10 sh. val., weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Alexr., spouse, 6 sh.; John Gibb, prentice, 6 sh.; John Andersoune, jorneyman, 12 sh., ... £1 16 0

Hugh Gibsoune, tennent, yr., 50 merks val., 6 sh. 8d.; Robert and Jennet Gibsounes, childreine, each 6 sh.; Elspe Caldwall, sert., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh.; and Agnas Langmuire, 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., ... 2 10 8

Robert King, yr., 36 lib. val., 7 sh. 2d.; Agnas Corss, spouse, 6 sh.; Agnas King, sert., 25 merks fie, 8 sh. 4d., ... 1 13 8

George Wilsoune, 80 lib. val. 4 sh.; Margt. Wilsoune, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 16 0

John Caldwall, in Overtoune, 18 lib. val., 3 sh. 8d.; Jean Reid, spouse, 6 sh.; and Margaret Cochrane, 6 lib. hervest fie, 3 sh., ... 0 18 8

John Wilsoune, 24 lib. val., masone, 12 sh.; and Margt. Baird, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Marg. Cordoner, in Clayslope, 28 lib. val., 5 sh. 8d.; and Robert Pinkertoune, sevt., 11 lib. fie, 5 sh. 6d., 1 8 8

William Hall, smith, 30 lib. val., 6 sh.; Jennet Robiesoune, 6 sh.; Agnas Robiesoune, 20 merks fie, 6 sh. 8d., ... 1 10 8

Thomas Caldwall, yr., 18 lib. val., 3 sh. 8d.; Margt. Caldwall, spouse, 6 sh.; William, his sone, 6 sh.; Jennet M'Neill, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ... 1 13 8

William King, yr., 18 lib. val., weiver, 12 sh.; Jennet Cochrane, spouse, 6 sh.; James, Jennet, and Margt., childreine, each 6 sh., ... 1 16 0

Thomas Hendersoune, yr., mert., worth 500 merks, 2 lib. 16 sh.; Agnas Kerr, spouse, 6 sh.; Jennet Shedden, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; and Elspe Rodger, 8 mks. hervest fie, 2 sh. 8d., ... 3 8 8

James Hendersoune, 14 lib. val., mert., 12 sh.; Margaret Galbreath, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 18 0

Margaret Cochran, widow, twentie-eight pound val., 5 sh. 8d., and 6 sh. geall. pole, ... 0 11 8

Allan Rodger, cottar.

Hugh Wilsoun, tennent in Mains of Elderslie, 25 lib. val., 5 sh., and 6 sh.; Jean Ralstoun, spouse, 6 sh.; Ja. and Hugh, sones, each 6 sh.; Robert King,

herd, 21 lib. fie, 2 sh., and 6 sh. geall. pole; Ursila Watsoune, fie in harvest 6 lib., 3 sh.; Jean Hog, of harvest fie 8 mks. and half, 2 sh. 10d., £2 2 10
Allexr. Cochrane, val. 6 lib. 40d., 2 sh. 4d., and 6 sh.; Elspe Gibsoun, cottar, ... 0 13 4

THE LANDS OF FERGUSLIE.

James Lochhead, 40 mks. val., 5 sh. 4d.; Agnas Parke, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 17 4
John Finnie, 40 mks. val., 5 sh. 4d.; Eliz. Merchant, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 17 4
John Cochrane, tennent, yr., val. 22 lib., 4 sh. 6d.; Elspe Finnie, spouse, 6 sh.; and John Finnie, his good-fayther, dead without as much as would pay his pole, ... 0 16 6
Abram Pettersoune, in Mains, 50 lib. val., 11 sh.; Elezabeth Merchell, spouse, 6 sh.; and his sone John, 6 sh.; Agnas Maxwell, servant, 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ... 2 1 0
James Pettersoune, yr., 50 lib. val., 10 sh.; Jean Cordoner, spouse, 6 sh.; James Blackwood, 8 merks fie in hervest, 2 sh. 8d., ... 1 4 0
Robert Cuninghame, in Ferguslie, 11 lib. val., 2 sh. 2d.; Elspeth Auchincloss, his good-daur., 6 sh.; and Mart., his daur., 6 sh., ... 1 0 2
Matt. Rodger, 24 lib. 13 sh. 4d. val., 5 sh.; Margaret Alexr., spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 17 0
William Greinlees, in Craigs, 20 lib. val., 4 sh.; Jean Porter, spouse, 6 sh., ... 0 16 0
Robert Cuninghame, in Craigs, 29 lib. val., 5 sh. 10d.; and his sister Agnas, 6 sh., ... 0 17 10
Thomas Maxwell, 24 lib. val., 5 sh. 10d.; Elspe Sclatter, spouse, 6 sh.; John, his sone, 6 sh.; and Elspe Knox, sert., 12 lib. fie, 12 sh., ... 1 15 10
Marion Smith, widow, yr., 10 lib. val., ... 0 8 0
Gabriel Whyte, yr., 10 lib. val., 2 sh., ... 0 8 0
James Richie, cordoner, 22 lib. 10 sh. val., 12 sh. trade and pole; Margt. Dunloap, spouse, 6 sh.; and Issoball Renfrew, sert., 14 lib. fie, 7 sh., ... 1 11 0

John Alexr., taylior, 12 lib. val., 12 sh.; Marion Alexr., spouse, 6 sh.; and Jennet, his daur., 6 sh., £1 4 0
Andrew Snodgrass, taylior, 10 lib. val., 12 sh.; and Andrew Snodgrass, elder, weiver, 12 sh.; and Marion Adam, 8 lib. fie, 4 sh., ... 1 14 0
William Wilsoune, quarier, 6 sh.; Jennet Curry, his wife, 6 sh., ... 0 12 0

THE LANDS OF HOUSEHILL.

James Dunloap, of Househill, heretor, 400 lib. val., 9 lib. 6 shil.; Christian Hamiltoune, his mother, 3 lib. 6 sh.; Christian, Anna, and Issobald Dunloaps, his sisters, each 6 shill.; Alexr. Hart., sert., 26 lib. fie, 13 sh.; John Gillmour, 18 lib. 10 sh. fie, 9 sh. 4d.; Jennet Young, Jean Enterkine, and Issobald Alexr., each 16 lib. fie, 8 sh. each; Matthew Patoune, servant, 10 lib. fie, 5 sh.; Margt. Thomsoune, spouse, 6 sh.; and James Young, herd, 4 lib. 18 sh. fie, 2 sh. 4d.; and 6 sh. each sert. geall. pole, ... 18 11 6
John Biggert, tennent, yr., 62 lib. 10 sh. val., 18 sh. 6d.; Agnes Lock, his spouse; Thomas and Mertha, his bairnes, 12 sh.; Rob. Cumming, herd, 3 lib. fie, 3 sh., ... 1 19 6
Robert Pollock, tennent, 25 val.; Isobel Glen, his spouse, ... 0 17 0
John Wattsoune, collier, and Jennet Wattsoune, yr., 0 12 0
Petter Johnstoune, yr., 62 lib. 10 sh. val., 12 sh. 6d.; Elezabeth Walker, spouse, 6 sh., ... 1 4 6
Allan Biggert, in Priesthill, 33 lib. 6 sh. 8d.; Margt. Wallace, spouse; Alex. Finlayson, servt., 11 lib. 13 sh. 4d.; Elizabeth, 15 lib. fie, ... 2 10 0
John Biggert, cotter, weiver, and Marion Galt, his spouse, ... 0 12 0
Malcomb Hart, in Boghouse, 16 lib. 13 sh. 4d. val., 3 sh. 4d.; Elspe Calther, spouse, 6 sh.; Thomas Hart, sert., 16 lib. fie, 8 sh.; and Malcomb Hart, herd, 3 lib. 3 sh. 4d. fie, 4 sh. 8d., ... 1 17 0

Robert Miller, in Nuttshill, 33 lib. 6 sh. 8d. val., 6 sh. 8d.; Margt. Stewart, spouse, 6 sh.; and Margt. Finlaysoune, servant, 9 lib. 11 sh. 8d. fie, 4 sh. 8d.; and John Finlaysone, herd, 3 lib. 12 sh. fie, 1 sh. 10d., and 6 sh. generall pole, ...	£1	17	2
Alexr. Stewart, yr., 16 lib. 13 sh. 4d. val., 3 sh. 4d.; Marg. Craig, spouse, 6 sh., ...	0	15	4
Allan Gilmour, cotter, in Househill, and Elezabeth Young, spouse, ...	0	12	0

LANDS OF BLACKHALL.

Robert Syme, in Sacehill Myllne, 12 sh.; Jennet Stewart, spouse, 6 sh.; and Thomas, his sone, 6 sh.,	1	4	0
James Maxwell, in Blackhall, 208 lib. val., 2 lib. 1 sh. 8d.; John, Archibald, Margaret, and Marie, his childrein, 6 sh. each; George Wilsoune, John Gibe, and Anrew Pinkertoun, his servts., each 30 lib. fie, 15 sh. each, and 6 sh. pole; Margaret Sunmerveill and Agnas Pinkertoun, servitrices, each 14 lib. fie, 7 sh. 6d. each, and 6 sh. each pole,	8	0	8
Allan Pinkertoune, cotter, Agnes Erskine, spouse, and Catherine Gardiner, cotter,...	0	18	0
James Hoge, in Jamfraycraig; Issobel Patresoune, spouse; Jannet Patersoune, her daur., and Agnas Wilsoune, yr., ...	1	4	0
Thomas Kerr, weiver, in Lowend, 12 sh.; Margaret Cameron, spouse; Andrew Taylior, jorneyman; William Thomson, jorneyman; John Hunter, prentice, ...	2	8	0
Robert Cochran, cotter; Agnes Lochhead, spouse, Jamfraycraig, ...	0	12	0
Robert Gemmell, cottar, yr.; Agnas Scoullar, spouse,	0	12	0
Robert Craig, smith, yr.; Bessie Jamiesoune, spouse,	0	18	0
James Tweddale, yr., and his spouse, ...	0	12	0
Robert Corsse, in Chappell of Blackhall, 50 lib. 10 sh. val.; Agnes Parkhill, his spouse; and James Corse, yr., sone, ...	1	8	0

The lists for the landward part of the parish of Paisley were taken by Gavin Cochrane of Craigmuire, Claud Alexander of Newtoune, Robert Pow, one of the baylies of the burgh, and Robert Park, their clerk, and delivered at Paisley 28th October, 1695.

THE PRIORS, ABBOTS, AND COMMENDATORS OF THE MONASTERY OF PAISLEY.

1169—1180.	Osbert, - - -	Prior.
1180—	Roger, - - -	„
1225—1248.	William, - -	Abbot.
1272—1285.	Stephen, - -	„
1296—	Walter, - - -	„
1312—1321.	Roger, - - -	„
1327—1334.	John, - - -	„
1346—	James, - - -	„
1361—1370.	John, - - -	„
1384—1433.	John de Lithgow, -	„
1414—	William de Chisholm,	„ (Co-adjutor).
1420—1423.	Thomas Morwe, -	„ „
1444—	Richard de Bothwell,	„ (Elect),
1445—1459.	Thomas Tervas, -	„
1459—1466.	Henry Crichton, -	„ (deposed).
1466—	Patrick Graham, Archbp. of St. Andrews,	Commendator.
1469—1472	Henry Crichton, -	Abbot (reponed).
1472—1498.	George Shaw, -	„ (pensioned).
1498—1525.	Robert Shaw, -	„ (made Bp. of Moray).
1525—1544.	John Hamilton, -	„ (made Bp. of Dunkeld and Archbp. of St. Andrews).
1553—1621.	Claud Hamilton, -	Commendator.

After the Reformation, Lord Semple, Lord Mar, Mr. Erskine (Parson of Campsie), and Lord Cathcart were at different times Commendators. Lord Claud Hamilton, after being twice deposed and once reponed, finally, in 1587, obtained a grant from the Crown of all the property of the Abbey—except such as had been alienated—and was made Lord of Paisley.

MINISTERS OF THE ABBEY PARISH OF PAISLEY.

1572. Patrick Adamson or Constant—Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1576.
1576. Andrew Polwart—made Sub-dean of Glasgow, 1578.
1578. Thomas Smeaton—made Principal of Glasgow, 1580.
1585 *c.* Andrew Knox—made Bishop of the Isles, 1606.
1607. Patrick Hamilton.
1610. Archibald Hamilton—made Bishop of Killaloe, 1623.
1625. Alexander Hamilton—resigned.
1626. Robert Boyd of Trochrigg—resigned.
1627. John Hay, from Killelan—translated to Renfrew, 1628.
1629. John Crichton, from Campsie—deposed, Nov. 21, 1638.

MINISTERS OF THE FIRST CHARGE OF THE ABBEY PARISH.

1641. Henry Calvert—died, 1653.
1653. Henry Dunlop, from Second Charge—banished, 1663.
1663. William Pierson (Episcopal), from Kinaird—translated to Dunfermline, 1666.
1667. James Chalmers (Episcopal)—resigned, 1669.
1667 *c.* Matthew Ramsay (Indulged)—died *c.* 1670.
1671 *c.* John Baird (Indulged), from Second Charge—deprived, April 11, 1684.
1684. John Fullarton (Episcopal)—ejected at Revolution; became Bishop of Edinburgh.
1688. Anthony Murray (Presbyterian)—translated to Culter, 1689.
1690. William Leggat, from Ireland—returned to Ireland, 1691.
1694. Thomas Blackwell—translated to Aberdeen, 1700.
1700. Thomas Brown, from Second Charge—died, 1708.
1709. Robert Millar, D.D., „ —died, 1752.
1753. James Hamilton, D.D., „ —died, 1782.
1782. Robert Boog, D.D., „ —died, 1823.
1824. Robert M'Nair, D.D., from Ballantrae—died, 1851.
1852. Andrew Wilson, from Falkland—died 1865.
1865. James Cameron Lees, D.D., from Second Charge—translated to Edinburgh.
1878. Thomas Gentles, D.D., from Edinburgh—present incumbent.

MINISTERS OF THE SECOND CHARGE OF THE ABBEY PARISH.

1644. Alexander Dunlop, M.A.—translated to First Charge.
1654. James Stirling, M.A.—ejected for Non-conformity.
1670 *c.* John Baird (Indulged)—translated to First Charge.
1671 *c.* William Eccles—deprived by Privy Council, Jan. 30, 1684.
1685. John Taylor—(Episcopal)—ejected at Revolution.
1698. Thomas Brown—translated to First Charge.
1722. Robert Mitchell, M.A.—translated to Low Church.
1740. William Fleming—died, January 2, 1747.
1751. James Hamilton—translated to First Charge.
1751. John Rae—died September 4, 1757.
1758. Archibald Davidson—translated to Inchinnan, 1758.
1762. Alexander Kennedy—died, July 12, 1773.
1774. Robert Boog—translated to First Charge.
1783. James Mylne—elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, October 4, 1797.
1798. James Smith—died, January 28, 1817.
1818. Patrick Brewster—died, March 26, 1859.
1859. James Cameron Lees—translated to First Charge.
1865. James Dodds—translated to St. George's, Glasgow.
1875. James Mitford Mitchell—translated to Aberdeen.
1878. James Boath Dalgety—died, May 11, 1908.

LIST OF PROVOSTS OF PAISLEY.

The Town Council, although entitled by the Charter of Erection of the Burgh to appoint a Provost, did not exercise that right till 1812.

1812-1814,	...	John Orr.
1814-1816,	...	William Jamieson.
1816-1818,	...	William Carlile.
1818-1820,	...	Oliver Jamieson.
1820-1822,	...	William Carlile.
1822-1824,	...	James Carlile.
1824-1827,	...	Robert Farquharson.
1827-1829,	...	Matthew Boyd.
1829-1832,	...	William Gilmour.
1832-1833,	...	John Orr.
1833-1836,	...	William Hardie.
1836-1838,	...	James Drummond.
1838-1841,	...	Robert Bisset.
1841-1844,	...	John Henderson.
1844-1850,	...	David Murray.
1850-1853,	...	William Philips.
1853-1856,	...	Hugh Macfarlane, Jr.
1856-1859,	...	Robert Brown.
1859-1862,	...	Alex. Pollock, Jr.
1862-1865,	..	David Campbell.
1865-1869,	...	Hugh Macfarlane, Jr.
1869-1879,	...	David Murray. Died 29th July, 1879.
1879-1882,	...	William Mackean.
1882-1885,	...	James Clark.
1885-1888,	...	Robert Cochran.
1888-1891,	...	John Johnston.
1891-1894,	...	John M'Gown.
1894-1900,	...	Archibald Mackenzie.
1900-1902,	...	David Wilson.
1902-1905,	...	Robert K. Bell.
1905-1908,	...	Peter Eadie.
1908-	...	William Muir MacKean.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR PAISLEY, FROM 1832 TO 1906.

1832. Sir John Maxwell, Bart.
1834. Sir Daniel Keyte Sandford.
1835. Alexander Graham Speirs, of Calcreuch.
1836. Archibald Hastie, Merchant, London.
1837. Archibald Hastie.
1841. Archibald Hastie.
1847. Archibald Hastie.
1852. Archibald Hastie.
1857. Archibald Hastie. Died 9th November, 1857.
1857. Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing, of Strathleven.
1859. Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing.
1865. Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing.
1868. Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing.
1874. William Holms.
1880. William Holms. Resigned in 1884.
1884. Stewart Clark, of Kilnside.
1885. William B. Barbour.
1886. William B. Barbour. Died 13th May, 1891.
1891. William Dunn.
1892. William Dunn.
1895. Sir William Dunn, Bart.
1900. Sir William Dunn, Bart.
1906. John M. M'Callum.

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ERRATA.

Page 4, line 9 from bottom—*omit* second.
„ 24, „ 13 „ top—*for* land *read* lands.
„ 173, „ 10 „ top— „ 1949 „ 1649.
„ 239, „ 4 „ bottom—*for* March 18, 1628, *read* March 19, 1629.
„ 318, „ 14 „ top—*for* between *read* being.
„ 330, „ 22 „ top— „ my *read* any.
„ 382, „ 4 „ bottom—*for* that *read* the following.
„ 424, „ 15 „ top—*for* publications ever *read* publications of its kind ever.
„ 455, „ 3 „ bottom—*add* The first part of the name may be derived from the German *wald*, a wood, and instead of meaning as just said, the meaning may be the meadow in the wood.
„ 456, „ 2 „ top—*add* Well Street may also mean the street through the wood, *well* coming from *wald*.

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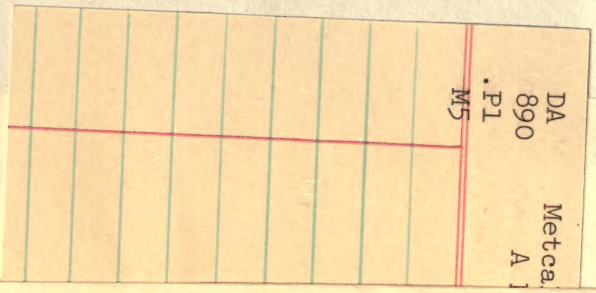
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